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NARODNA ARMIYA ON CPC CONGRESS RESULTS

AU061858 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Oct 82 p 3

[Ivan Peev article: "The 12th CPC Congress -- A 'Point' for Deng"]

[Text] The 12th CPC Congress ended on 11 September. Unlike previous such forums, this time the mass media reported in advance the date of its opening as well as a CPC Central Committee plenum at which the congress' agenda was adopted. The plenum elected a new Central Committee and adopted new party statutes which eliminated the post of CPC chairman and established a new organ -- a Consultative Council (something like a "council of elders") -- in which only political functionaries with over 40 years of labor experience can be members. An expanded central commission for matters of discipline was also elected. The new Consultative Council and the commissions on checking discipline will have branches at the level of provinces, autonomous regions and cities accountable to the central authorities. The qualification requirements for the members will be the same as for the analogous central organs.

Two documents require special attention -- the Central Committee report read by Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the party, and the new CPC statutes. The characteristic trend of both documents is a tendency to move away from some postulates of Mao Zedong and from the wicked practice of the "Cultural Revolution." The new statutes speak very little of class struggle and stress the development of material production. The "cult of Mao Zedong" is clearly denounced and the principle of collective leadership in the future has been stressed. In 1945 the CPC statutes introduced the post of "chairman," which has been eliminated now, together with the posts of deputy chairmen. A decisive role in party work has been assigned to the secretary general of the party -- a post which belonged and will continue to belong to Hu Yaobang, a collaborator and comrade of Deng Xiaoping.

In the part entitled "general program," the statutes are significantly different from analogous texts adopted by the 11th CPC Congress in 1977. Overcoming the contradiction between the "growing material and spiritual needs of the population and the lagging behind of social production" has been recognized for the first time as a strategic task of the party and the masses.

This admission, which has the prominence of a statute statement, totally contradicts the press' claims of great economic successes after the death of Mao in 1976 and represents a successful implementation of the ambitious program of the "four modernizations" -- agriculture, industry, army, and science and education.

According to the statutes, the "final goal of the party is to create a new communist social system." Mao Zedong has been proclaimed "the main representative" of the Chinese communists who, together with other collaborators, has succeeded in concretely applying the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the specific Chinese conditions. The mention of Mao only in passing is more than obvious when compared with the time of the 11th congress, when the statutes and other congress documents were full of praise for Mao, such as "the great navigator" and "our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Zedong is the CPC founder and the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time." The new edition points to Mao's contribution in the early stage of the revolutionary struggle, but conforms with the postulates of the CPC Central Committee Sixth Plenum (June 1981) which, in an extensive document, analyzed CPC history, as well as some of Mao's bigger mistakes in the latter period of his leadership.

The conclusion is self-evident. Mao's aura of infallibility has been removed; however, a full renunciation of his practical and theoretical legacy is hardly possible for several reasons. A great number of the present superannuated leaders are collaborators in the struggle which led to the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 and in the restoration period of almost 10 years which followed this date, when, thanks to USSR assistance and correct economic postulates, the country achieved remarkable successes. If the present Chinese leaders repudiated Mao's cause completely, they would discredit themselves. This would mean that the next logical step would be to renounce the military-bureaucratic system of leadership, to whose principles Deng and his collaborators still subscribe.

No substantial changes in the functions of the CPC Political Bureau, Central Committee, and Secretariat have been envisaged. In order to stress the future orientation toward collective leadership, the statutes say: "No party member has the right to independently adopt decisions on important matters, regardless of his post." This point, however, evokes serious doubts. The congress was preceded by a broad campaign to purge the party and the state bureaucratic machine, pleasantly called "administrative revolution." This purge of enemies "right and left" even affected the election of the congress delegates. The number of delegates elected by secret ballot was far greater than required, but the secret became open when the supreme organs removed some of them as "unreliable," and only 1,600 delegates were in Beijing on 1 September 1982. Thus every potential opposition was removed and the smooth election of the new leading duo, Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang, behind whom Deng Xiaoping stands as chairman of the powerful party military council. Actually, even with the present reshuffles and new statutes' postulates, Deng will preserve more than one post, which, according to the official documents of the congress, was a privilege of "especially deserving" leaders.

According to official data, on the day of the congress, the CPC had 39 million members, 4.6 million of whom had been admitted in the last 4 years. An announcement of the CPC Central Committee "organizational" department speaks of a new tendency -- a striving to attract ever more intellectuals to the party, especially those who were persecuted during the period of the "Cultural Revolution." Almost half of the party members were admitted during that tragic period. Many of these former Hunveybins and Zaofans [activists during the Cultural Revolution] are already the leading generation and have reached the posts of directors of plants and combines; they are commanders of divisions, regiments and even corps.

In order to neutralize all opposition, Deng and his collaborators announced from the congress rostrum that during the next 4-5 years the files of all CPC members will be reviewed and everybody will have to reapply for membership. This seemingly democratic "equality before the statutes" conceals the intention of the present leadership to get rid of all opposition connected with the remnants of the time of the "Cultural Revolution." There is a serious danger that the new self-appointed infallible censors and advisers will use this campaign to suffocate any criticism "from below" and at the respective horizontal levels, which would be very dangerous for the country, which is now in a complex period of socioeconomic transformations.

At the opening of the congress Deng Xiaoping announced the three strategic tasks of the eighties: "Socialist modernization," determined efforts to return Taiwan to the motherland, and a struggle against "hegemonism" in order to preserve world peace. He also announced that this was the most important party forum since the CPC Seventh Congress in 1945. "China will continue to learn from other countries, but mechanical adoption of foreign experience will lead us nowhere." In these last words of the regime's strongman, there is self-criticism, as well as an equal measure of bitter recognition of the insurmountability of the problems faced by the party and the people. The Central Committee report read by Hu Yaobang and many of the delegates who took the floor were not sparing in their praise for the modernization and the parents of its implementation, but Chinese practice shows that there is quite a difference between words and deeds. It is enough to briefly check the documents of the 9th, 10th and 11th CPC congresses in order to reveal tedious repetitive phrases such as "unity," "progress," "loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism," "stability, "confidence in the future," and so forth.

Deng Xiaoping won a point in the complex struggle against overt and secret enemies. The decisive stage of the CPC struggle against radicalism does not mean that there is no danger from right and left, corruption, about which much was said during the congress, disappointment and need to restore the confidence of the masses in the army and the leading organs of the party.

The future will show what will remain in the realm of wishes and what will be put into effect. Does not Deng himself like to repeat that practice is the only criteria of the truth?

CIA ENJOYS 'FUNDS WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION'

AU081345 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 82 p 7

[Commentary by Dusan Rovensky, RUDE PRAVO Washington Corresondent: "Billions for Espionage"]

[Text] In the state budget, the Reagan government has been cutting one category of social services after another, but nothing is being saved in any way for espionage and diversion against the socialist countries. On the contary, President Reagan has now signed a draft bill which will substantially increase the allocations for the CIA espionage organization.

In the fiscal year which began on 1 October, the CIA will receive much more money than heretofore. Althought the sum is one of the most strictly guarded secrets, one thing is certain: that the sum of the CIA will be substantially greater than last year. One talks about tens of billions of dollars. And, moreover, one has to take into consideration the fact that further great sums are hidden in the budgets of ministries, central agencies and various research institutes with which CIA either closely cooperates, or whose departments are in fact secret CIA worksites.

Already before he signed the new law, President Reagan said that additional monies will help the CIA "to achieve a qualitative as well as a quantitative expanion of operations." That does not mean anything else but a further and even more intensive CIA espionage and diversionary activity, oriented above all against the socialist states and against countries that have embarked upon a path independent of Washington.

Already now billi[illegible] of dollars are being spent on secret espionage and diversionary operations not only abroad, but also inside the United States. Here the targets are, above all, progressive organizations, but also -- for example -- organizations striving for peace and the reduction of international tension.

The CIA monies will also bankroll the training of diversionary groups which are to be sent to the socilist countries to carry out espionage and diversion there. According to secret plans these groups are to be sent across borders during a military conflict, with which the Pentagon counts and for which it is preparing itself. It is known that similar groups, consisting of the Pentagon's special detachments and refugees from the socialist countries, are being trained in North Carolina.

And yet another fact is typical. At the time when President Reagan signed the new law, the WASHINGTON POST disclosed that CIA also misuses international scientific and study exchanges for recruiting new agents and acquiring espionage information.

There simply are things on which the Republic administration saves, and there are others which it funds without any restriction.

U.S. SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND REPORTED, CONDEMNED

LD092054 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] In a radio broadcast today, U.S. President Ronald Reagan announced further discriminatory measures against Poland. In connection with the passing of the new law on the organization of Polish trade unions, he said that he had ordered steps to deprive Poland of its "most-favored-nation" status. He threatened that the United States is prepared to take more measures. Ronald Reagan has confirmed by his decision that he has not given up the policy of interference in the internal affairs of Poland and that he continues to assume the right to instruct the Polish Government on how to organize life in its own country.

'Gross Interference' Charged

LD110900 Prague CTK in English 0803 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] Prague -- What the Reagan administration has done is gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, RUDE PRAVO wrote today in a commentary on the new U.S. economic "sanctions" against Poland.

The paper pointed out that if the American "advocates of trade union rights" were really concerned about the interests of workers and no disruption of People's Poland they would have had to act differently at home where the Taft-Hartley law persecuting any movement in the trade unions which might be inconvenient to the ruling circles has been in force for decades.

"The Washington government's action must be seen in the context of the ever increasing attempts at political subversion against Poland and resolute action against counter-revolutionary forces thwarted the hopes for a reactionary reversal, for tearing Poland out of the family of the socialist countries. Reagan's new 'sanctions' must be seen in the context of the escalating psychological war against Poland and other socialist states... Depriving Poland of the most favoured nation status is also a step towards stepping up the trade war in which the interests of American monopolies are seen in the background..." President Reagan indicated that the United States will also try to win West European NATO members for similar action, apparently in a bid "to prevent imports of Polish coal to Western Europe so that it could export American coal there", the paper wrote.

The discriminatory steps thus "very clearly reflect the interests of American imperialism, especially political interests calculating with subversion against socialist countries, but at the same time also economic interests motivated by the quest of monopolies for the highest profits."

USTINOV, SOVIET MILITARY GROUP END TOUR, DEPART

LD082140 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] The Soviet military delegation headed by Marshal of the USSR Dmitriy Ustinov ended its official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia this afternoon. The highest representatives of the Soviet Army were seen off by Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech Premier, party and state representatives, the highest commanders of the Czechoslovak People's Army and other political and public figures. Also present were representatives of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Nations and military and air attaches of the socialist countries.

After the departure ceremony with military honors, the Soviet military delegation left Czechoslovakia.

Report Issued

LD081736 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] The Soviet military delegation headed by Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of defense, ended today their official, friendly visit to Czechoslovakia and left Prague by air.

At the end of their stay the Soviet guests were received in Prague today by Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense. Minister Dmitriy Ustinov appreciated the importance of the visit, which has contributed to strengthening further cooperation and friendship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

A report on the official, friendly visit of the Soviet military delegation to Czechoslovakia states that the meeting between Ministers Dmitriy Ustinov and Martin Dzur took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. During mutual talks they voiced their satisfaction at the successful securing of the high state of defense capability of the socialist community as demonstrated convincingly a few days ago by the joint exercise of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member states in Bulgaria -- Shield 82.

Both representatives noted that for as many as 27 years the Warsaw Pact and its joint armed forces have been serving the cause of peace, protecting the peaceful work of the people of our fraternal countries. The strength of the fraternal armies lies in their unity with the people, in that in their activity they are discharging consistantly their peace mission in the defense of socialist gains.

Both ministers stressed at the same time that relaxation of tension is not to the liking of imperialist countries and of the United States in particular. Their aggressive militaristic policy has aggravated seriously the international situation and has led to increasing tension in various parts of the world.

During the talks both sides reaffirmed their endeavor to continue to expand and strengthen all-round fraternal bonds between the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Soviet Army as well as the armies of the other states of the Warsaw Pact.

Dmitriy Ustinov, minister of defense of the Soviet Union, has invited Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, for an official, friendly visit to the Soviet Union.

STROUGAL RECEIVES FOREIGN ENVOYS 8 OCTOBER

Soviet Aviation Minister

LD091346 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Ivan Silayev, Soviet minister of the aviation industry, in the Hrzan Palace in Prague today. The two representatives praised the results achieved in the deepening of bilateral cooperation in the aviation industry. They emphasized both countries' interest in the further intensification of production cooperation and specialization in this important sphere. They also outlined concrete steps which will enrich the existing production and scientific-technological mutually beneficial bilateral cooperation.

Cuban Foreign Trade Minister

LD091430 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received in Prague today Ricardo Cabrizas Ruiz, the Cuban foreign trade minister. Their discussions covered topical questions concerning the future development of economic relations. Both representatives stressed during their talks the endeavor of both countries to seek further ways of intensifying economic cooperation and raising the volume of mutual exchange of goods.

STROUGAL MAKES OFFICIAL VISIT TO FINLAND

Group Departs Prague

LD110856 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal left Prague for Helsinki by air today on an official visit to Finland at the invitation of Kalevi Sorsa, prime minister of the Republic of Finland. The visit will contribute toward deepening mutual relations between both countries and broadening all-round cooperation in the economic, scientific and technological spheres.

The prime minister is being accompanied by Bohumil Urban, minister of foreign trade, and Jaromir Johanes, deputy minister of foreign affairs. In Helsinki, the delegation will be joined by Jan Husak, the Czechoslovak ambassador to Finland.

At Ruzyne Airport, the federal prime minister and members of his entourage were seen off by deputy premiers Ladislav Gerele, Vaclav Hula, Karol Laco, Matej Lucan, Josef Korcak and Svatopluk Potac; by Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense; by Jaromir Obzina, minister of the interior; and by other Czechoslovak representatives.

Dinner Speech Reported

LD112154 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] Helsinki [no date as received] -- "We condemn the attempts to throw the world back into the period of cold war, seek unilateral advantages from a position of strength and especially to start an arms race spiral, which are in contrast to all common sense," Czechoslavak Premier Lubomir Strougal said at the dinner in his honor here.

"The last decade gave the world the Helsinki appeal for cooperation and coexistence. However, quite different calls are heard from some NATO circles at present, we are witness to interference in the internal affairs of states, I mean especially the attempts to force upon the Polish People's Republic a solution against the interests of the nation and the state," Lubomir Strougal pointed out.

He went on to say that Czechoslovakia is very much concerned by the aggression of Israel against Lebanon and the continuation of genocide of Palestinians.

Commenting on the planned deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in five West European countries the Czechoslovak premier pointed out that this would change the strategic situation in Europe which would thus find itself in a serious danger of nuclear war.

Lubomir Strougal recalled the latest Soviet peace initiatives, wished success to the Finnish proposal to create a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe and said that Czechoslovakia's aim is a whole continent without nuclear arms.

Appreciating Finland's consistent peace foreign policy the premier stressed that "Czechoslovak foreign policy pursues indentical or similar aims. It is a staunchly anti-war policy, dedicated out of conviction to the principles of coexistence of countries having different social systems and to good neighbourly relations."

In his toast the premier also appreciated the success in economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Finland. All trade obstacles have been removed, the volume of goods exchanges has increased and successful cooperation begun on third markets. These achievements are all the more important at the present time when the world market is hit by crisis, the premier noted.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD112146 Prague CTK in English 1953 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] Helsinki [no date as received] (CETEKA correspondent) -- A long-term program of development and extension of Czechoslovak-Finnish economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation was signed here today by premiers Lubomir Strougal and Kalevi Sorsa.

The program contains provisions for exchanges of goods and mutually advantageous industrial cooperation, and for other forms of economic relations, including joint supplies for third markets. Economic and industrial cooperation is to develop especially in energy, electronics, electrical engineering, forestry and timber industry, and in engineering branches. Also envisaged are closer contacts between economic organizations, enterprises and scientific research institutions.

At a press conference after the signing of the agreement, Lubomir Strougal appreciated highly the results of his talks here, and stressed that the long-term economic program creates new conditions for further development of Czechoslovak-Finnish cooperation.

CHNOUPEK MEETS WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL

LD082108 Prague CTK in English 1722 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] New York [no date as received] (CETEKA correspondent) -- U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek agreed that in the present unquiet and complex situation in the world the peace-making mission of the United Nations and its agencies assumes extraordinary importance. During reception by the secretary-general Thursday Minister Chnoupek conveyed to him greetings from Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak.

Javier Perez de Cuellar appreciated Czechoslovakia's active and constructive contribution to implementation of the world organization's goals. Views were also exchanged on international topics related to the agenda of the current general assembly. The U.N. secretary-general and the Czechoslovak foreign minister qualified as most topical the solution of such tasks as averting the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, preserving peace, making progress in disarmament, reviving and developing detente and promoting broad international economic cooperation. Czechoslovak Ambassador to the United Nations Stanislav Suja was present during the discussion.

On the same day the U.N. secretary-general gave a luncheon in residence in honour of Minister Chnoupek, guests included Security Council President Hazim Nusaybah of Jordan, chairmen of regional groups of U.N. member states, ambassadors of the socialist countries to the United Nations and other officials.

MINISTER NOTES GRAIN PLAN NONFULFILLMENT

AU081644 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

["KV"-signed report on the second meeting of the CSSR Federal Assembly's Chamber of Nations, held in Prague on 6 October: "On Raising Agriculture's Efficiency"]

[Excerpts] Deputy Antonie Bajerova asked Josef Nagr, federal minister of agriculture and food, about the causes of the failure to fulfill this year's grain harvest plan and about the nature of the measures taken to reduce the potato and sugar beet harvest losses.

In his reply to Deputy Antonie Bajerova's question, the minister said that as of 15 September, the planned production of grain crops was fulfilled 93.5 percent. He attributed the shortfall to the lack of humidity and the cold temperatures in spring, which made it necessary to plow up a considerable acreage of winter crops. The spring crops sown in their place did not make up for this shortfall. The farmers are now trying to reduce the shortfall by harvesting some silage corn crops for grain. The autumn work is proceeding at a far higher speed than in the past. As far as potatoes are concerned, only the procurement organizations are making the farmers' situation more difficult -- the sales of potatoes for consumption are lagging. The sugar refineries, on the other hand, as well as agricultural enterprises are adhereing to the agreed schedules for the sugar beet harvest and procurement.

REPORTAGE ON COMING MIDEAST VISIT OF HONECKER

Deputy Minister Interviewed

DW111332 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1810 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Thomas Silberstein interview with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Bernhard Neugebauer; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Minister, how do you assess the significance of the friendship visit by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, to the Syrian Arab Republic with respect to the present situation in the Middle East and the further development of the friendly relations between the GDR and the Syrian Arab Republic?

[Answer] The friendship visit is expressive of the close, friendly relations between our two states and peoples. I am convinced that both sides can state during the forthcoming negotiations in Damascus that the fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation has been successfully consolidating and deepening to the advantage of both states and peoples in the past few years in the most diversified fields.

The common interests of our two states in the struggle for peace and progress, for a comprehensive solution of the conflict in the Middle East, form the solid basis for this development. The friendship visit by Comrade Erich Honecker once again will provide an opportunity for reaffirming these common interests in our anti-imperialist struggle.

In this connection we proceed from the premise that the talks between the highest representatives of the GDR and the Syrian Arab Republic are particularly significant, especially in the present dangerous situation in the Middle East. Israel's brutal crusade of murder and annihilation which is comparable only to the crimes committed by Hitlerite fascism in World War II, is directed above all against the forces which put up determined resistance against this imperialist policy, especially against Syria, the PLO and the patriotic forces of Lebanon.

More than ever before it is necessary today to cross these imperialist plans and to put an end to the machinations of Israel and its backers.

The friendship visit in Syria will provide an opportunity for reaffirming again the GDR's fundamental attitude toward the solution of the Middle East conflict. Keeping in mind the dangers to world peace ematning from this hotbed of conflict, we advocate a comprensive, just and durable solution of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the well-known principles, through political negotiations. Firmly and in solidarity we stand by the side of the Arab people and states in their struggle for peace and progress which they have instilled with new impetus for concerted action through their Fes decisions.

[Question] Subsequently Erich Honecker will be visiting Cyprus, thus reciprocating for the offical GDR visit by the president of the Republic of Cyprus, Spiros Kyprianou, in 1980 which formed the climax so far in the friendly relations over many years that have been marked by anti-imperialist solidarity. What impact is anticipated from the forthcoming official visit on the cooperation of the two states in the international arena and on the further development of the bilateral relations?

[Answer] I would like to tell you that by the official visit to the Republic of Cyprus the GDR consolidates its cooperation with a country which is actively working for the recuperation of the international situation in the Nonaligned Movement. Cyprus' unerring stance against imperialist aggression and intrusion strengthens this movement as an important peace factor. The position of Cyprus for a comprehensive, peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict is in harmony with those of the socialist community of states and of the Arab countries.

Cyprus makes a contribution of its own toward detente, disarmament and the peaceful solution of international controversial issues. Let me only point out that President Kyprianou proposed the complete demilitarization of Cyrpus. At the same time all initiatives toward the conversion of the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and cooperation are supported. What must be emphasized is the constructive work for Europe and security and cooperation. As one of Europe's neutral and nonaligned countries Cyprus advocates the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting.

This attitude of Cyprus toward international basic issues is explained by the experience which the country, which is located in a strategically important region, and its citizens repeatedly gained as the victims of imperialist conspiracies and interventions. The GDR has always been and will always remain associated in solid anti-imperialist solidarity with this just struggle of the Cypriot people for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonalignment.

On this basis close, friendly ties have developed between our peoples. The bilateral relations today encompass all fields and continuously develop well. It turned out that a solid foundation to this end is formed by congruent views, common interests and the strict observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence. For this reason we may assume that the Cyprus visit and the conclusion of new treaties and agreements envisaged in this connection will stimulate the bilateral relations and will open additional fields for mutually advantageous cooperation.

[Question] The final station on this itinerary is the State of Kuwait. The official visit will bring the first meeting of the supreme representatives of the two states. What significance for the further deepening of the bilateral relations do you attach to this visit which, after all, is taking place against the background of the continuing troubled and alarming situation in the world?

[Answer] That is correct, the third stop of this top-level tour will be the State of Kuwait. The exchange of views between the supreme representatives of the GDR and of Kuwait no doubt will reaffirm our converging views toward many international basic issues. Kuwait's active work for the preservation of peace, the elimination of international hotbeds of conflicts and tensions, for security and stability especially in the Middle East and in the gulf region are decisive political bases for the deepening of cooperation of our state with this important Arab country. In view of the alarming world situation you referred to, it is an essential objective of this visit to reaffirm this position once again and to bring it to bear even more strongly than before in the worldwide peace struggle.

In this connection we in the GDR particularly appreciate the political realism and the balance of the policy of the State of Kuwait. It goes without saying that the questions concerning the bilateral relations will command a great deal of room in the negotiations. These relations have been continually and stably developing since 1972, when diplomatic relations were established, on the basis of the tested principles of equal rights, respect for sovreignty and nonintrusion in internal affairs.

I am confident that as a result of the talks of the GDR state council chairman with the amir of the State of Kuwait and the other meetings a new stage will be initiated in the mutually advantageous relations between the two countries.

[Question] Comrade minister, thank you for this interview.

Syrian Minister Interviewed

LD103458 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1805 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Text] Damascus 10 Oct (ADN) -- The Syrian Arab Republic (SAR) attributes great importance to the coming official friendship visit by Erich Honecker, especially in view of the recent developments in the Middle East. This was underlined by Ahmad Iskander Ahmad, member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and Syrian information minister, to GDR journalists. The visit will lend fresh impetus to the further development of bilateral relations.

"Relations between the SAR and GDR are strong and firm both at government level and between the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and the SED. The meetings between our heads of state contribute substantially toward tapping further possibilities for cooperation between our peoples," the minister said.

The minister recalled the visit of President Hafiz al-Asad to Berlin in 1978, which led to a great upsurge in the relations between both countries, such as in trade and in cooperation in important industrial projects.

"When we welcome Comrade Honecker in our country with much warmth and cordiality it will be an expression of the regard of our people for the performance of the GDR people in the construction of socialism." In this connection the minister underlined the agreement between both states in the main questions of international politics. Syria and the GDR stand together in the front against the forces of imperialism, reaction and Zionism. The struggle for justice and peace in the world is of common concern. Ahmad Iskander Ahmad emphasized that the close cooperation at state and party level is the service of understanding between the two peoples.

"With your friendship and support we fell stronger in our struggle," the leading Syrian politican said. Syria is fighting for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Near East. It supports the joint proposals of the Arab summit meeting in Fes and accords great significance to the six principles for a peace settlement in the Near Fast proposed by Leonid Brezhnev. Israel has further escalated the explosive situation in the Near East by its latest aggression against Lebanon, as well as by the cruel massacre of the Palestinian people. The conspiracy between U.S. imperialism and Israel threatens peace and security in the world. This policy is directed against all anti-imperialist forces. "That is why it is necessary to work even more closely together in order to preserve world peace and force back all imperialist, reactionary and Zionist attacks." In this connection Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad expressed thanks for the continuous support of the GDR, the USSR and the whole of the socialist community of states for the just cause of his people.

Delegation Departs for Syria

LD110916 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0641 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] Berlin, 11 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, left this morning for an official friendship visit to the Syrian Arab Republic (SAR). He was invited by Hafiz al-Asad, secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of Syria.

Erich Honecker is accompanied on his visit by Guenter Mittag, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee and member of the Council of State; Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign affairs minister; Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the Council of Ministers and state secretary in the Foreign Trade Ministry; and Guenter Sieber, head of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee.

Erich Honecker and the members of his official entourage were given an cordial send-off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen, Joachim Herrmann, Erich Mielke and Paul Verner; Dr Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Front National Council; deputy chairmen of the GDR Council of State Dr Manfred Gerlach and Dr Ernst Mecklenburg; deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Hans-Joachim Heusinger, Wolfgang Rauchfuss and Rudolph Schulze, and other dignitaries.

Also present was Syrian Charge d'Affaires in the GDR Muhammad Kamal Asswad.

EAST BERLIN REPORTS ON JARUZELSKI SEJM SPEECH

LD092356 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] Polish Premier Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, at the end of the Sejm meeting in Warsaw today spoke on domestic and foreign issues. In connection with the law the Sejm adopted on trade unions he said that the socialist state power needs a partner who will share responsibility in fulfilling the tasks facing the country. The trade union movement will not be an antisocialist political grouping.

The Polish premier referred to the machinations of counterrevolutionary groups in the country which, in collusion with the enemies of socialism abroad, are even prepared to shed blood. Extraordinary means are, therefore, being used for longer than had been intended. But the government stands by its intention to suspend or lift the state of emergency as soon as the necessary conditions are present.

On the further development of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth Jaruzelski said that this coalition of the forces of good will is based on the principle of recognizing the socialist character of the state, its constitution order and the inviolability of its alliances.

In the foreign policy part of his speech Army General Jaruzelski condemned the imperialist policy of confrontation and specifically the attitude of the U.S. administration, which deadlocked all important international negotiations. Regarding imperialist provocations against People's Poland he said that Poland insists on its sovereign and inalienable right to decide its own affairs. In conclusion Wojciech Jaruzelski paid tribute to the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states as well as Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact, which are of paramount importance at this time.

CHURCH OFFICIALS GIVE SUPPORT TO PEACE POLICY

LD091316 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Excerpt] At a traditional meeting to mark national day in the Wartburg castle, church officials gave their support to the GDR's peace policy. Werner Reich, Land bishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Thuringia, described the preservation of peace as a task which is inseparably interwoven with political, humane and moral concerns. What matters politically is to conclude and observe peace-securing treaties. It is reassuring to be able to say about the GDR politicians that they are working responsibly and with all their power toward this goal. As a moral duty peace demands personal commitment from every individual. This makes it easier for politicians to clear paths toward peace.

USSR'S TALYZIN DISCUSSES ECONOMIC TIES

LD102238 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 9 Oct 82

[From the "168 Hours Political Magazine" program; interview with Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Talyzin during visit for session of Soviet-Hungarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation in Budapest; date and place not given; recorded -- Talyzin's answers in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Question] The sessions of the intergovernmental committee always concern themselves with specific issues. Let me also start with a concrete question. Do the problems which manifest themselves in the national economies of our countries affect Hungarian-Soviet cooperation?

[Answer] Naturally, they do to some extent. Indeed, we always discuss specific issues at our meetings and negotiations. Let us take the session which has just ended. Every topic on the agenda was directed at expanding and improving cooperation. For example, the plan that Hungary should participate in the reconstruction of a Soviet autobus factory is such a topic, as is cooperation and co-production in the sphere of electronics. We would welcome wider Hungarian participation and are willing to expand our deliveries. This also applies to the manufacture of instruments. It is obvious that every such topic discussed serves the solution of an economic problem in our countries.

[Question] The way I interpret the effects of the economic problems includes the possibility of one or the other partner having problems regarding its solvency and that this might cause difficulties in trade.

[Answer] There are no marked problems of solvency inside CEMA. The accounts are settled in terms of the so-called transferable rouble, and this currency fulfills its function well. At times convertible currencies also play a part in trade, but this is not characteristic and does not have a determining significance.

[Question] You have mentioned a few examples of cooperation. Was some sort of new form or new area discussed at the present session? I asked this question because the well-tried forms of economic cooperation can make the partners complacent, and they might not notice in time new possibilities or demands arising in the other market.

[Answer] It is well known that in the post-war period the Soviet Union played a great part in the development of the industries of the socialist countries, in the reconstruction of their factories. The Paks nuclear power station is currently being built within this framework of cooperation. The Soviet Union is also playing a part in the modernization of the Danube steel workers. These are the traditional forms. By contrast, a new area of cooperation is that which recently we have been suggesting to Hungarian enterprises, namely that they should participate in the reconstruction of light factories in the Soviet Union, for example in the modernization of textile factories. Let them also participate in the establishment of service and even catering establishments. At the session of the intergovernmental committee we signed two agreements, according to which Hungarian enterprises will participate in the modernization of Soviet light industry factories. I think we must make more use of each other's experiences, and there is great scope for this type of cooperation.

[Question] Did the session discuss the delivery of oil or other raw materials, which are of fundamental importance for Hungary?

[Answer] There are long-term agreements in force regarding the delivery of these goods of fundamental importance. Everything is in order in this sphere and there was no need for us to deal with this question. If modifications become necessary -- as has happened -- the relevant officials of the two countries will discuss this separately.

[Question] As a result of the deterioration in trade, the volume of Hungarian exports has increased. In other words we deliver more food and machinery to the Soviet Union in exchange for the same quantity of raw materials. However, occasionally there are transportation problems, particularly because of the limited capacity of the Soviet railways. What do you intend to do to eliminate this problem?

[Answer] You asked two questions. As for the first one, it is well known and has been dealt with in the Hungarian press on several occasions that the price of energy and raw materials purchased in the Soviet Union is still considerably below the world market price. Prices are formed on the basis of the principles accepted within CEMA, thus the various world market fluctuations do not exist. As for the other part of your question, it is a fact that at this time of the year, in the autumn, there is a peak in transportation. For example, fruit ripens simultaneously in Hungary and in the European republics of the Soviet Union. At such times the transportation system has difficulties in overcoming the tasks facing it. I can tell you that the modernization of the main railway line along which Hungarian deliveries are sent has begun and is being carried out at an accelerated pace. We are confident that this problem will be eliminated by the next season, or at any rate, that it will be considerably reduced. Of course, besides this we must make better use of other possibilities, for example those provided by the Danube. We must also think of the fact that it would be worthwhile to preserve, process the rapidly deteriorating food industry products, fruits, to a much greater extent. This is a priority task for both sides.

[Question] When you said farewell to your partners, you presumably agreed on the date and topic for the next meeting.

[Answer] Life motivates us to meet regularly with our Hungrian friends. We will negotiate next in November during the CEMA Executive Committee session. Thus, we will not even wait for the next scheduled meeting of the intergovernmental committee. By the way, if any problem arises, we get in touch by mail or by telephone. This cooperation is characterized by a friendly, comradely atmosphere and mutual understanding, just as much as the negotiations which have just ended.

MESSAGE FROM LEADERS ON GDR NATIONAL DAY

AU081108 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Oct 82 p 4

["Hungarian Leaders' Greetings Message on the National Holiday of the GDR"]

[Text] To Comrades Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Berlin.

Dear comrades:

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and our working people as a whole, we send you, the SED Central Committee and the State Council, government and working people of the GDR comradely greetings and heartfelt good wishes on the occasion of your great national holiday, the 33d anniversary of the establishment of the GDR.

The Hungarian people are well aware of and hold in great esteem the outstanding successes that have been attained by the working people of the GDR under SED leadership in building an advanced socialist society and developing the economy, culture and science.

We highly value the GDR's activity toward consolidating international peace and security, preserving the achievements of detente and intensifying close cooperation among the socialist countries. We are sincerely pleased that fraternal friendship between our parties and peoples is extensively developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. On your country's national holiday we wish the working people of the GDR that they may attain further outstanding results in serving the cause of social progress, socialism and peace and in making their country prosper.

SEJM DEBATE ON TRADE UNION LAW OPENED 8 OCT

NC081535 Paris AFP in English 1517 GMT 82 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 82 (AFP) -- The Polish parliament opened today in the presence of the country's military leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. The debate on a new trade union law to ban all existing trade unions, beginning with the suspended independent trade union Solidarity, was to take place once procedural points are cleared up. A vote on the text, which has not been made public, was expected later today. The parliamentary session was expected to last two days.

The chairman of the parliamentary trade union committee, Wlodzimierz Berutowizc, outlined recent amendments to the bill which were made on the "suggestion" of the Geneva-based International Labour Organisation (ILO). He said that most of the remarks made by the ILO were of "little importance," but indicated that a major disagreement arose between the Polish Government and the ILO over Article 53 which provides for only one trade union per work place up until December 31, 1984. Although the government believed that the ILO had failed to understand that this was simply a provisional measure, the committee had nevertheless decided that the state council could shorten this transition period if necessary, he said. Another amendment stemming from ILO criticism of the bill had been introduced to guarantee workers against discrimination based on union membership, he said.

On the issue of the right to strike, the Polish committee accepted an ILO suggestion stating that water, gas and electricity workers could strike providing they guaranteed a minimum service. But insurance company employees had been scrapped from the list of those allowed to strike. The legal minimum number of members necessary to set up a union had been dropped from 100 to 50 on the ILO's suggestion, he added.

PAP Outlines New TU Law

LD081638 Warsaw PAP in English 1436 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] PAP, Warsaw 8 Oct -- The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic meets today at 2 p.m. for a two-day session with an extensive agenda. Among the several draft laws to be considered during this meeting particular interest is focused on the draft law on trade unions.

A ten-page summary of this draft, which will be debated today, follows below.

Chapter one of the draft law on trade unions defines the bases of their activity and aims of the unions. Trade unions are self-governing. They are independent of state and economic administration bodies. Within their statutory activity they are not subject to supervision or control by state administration bodies.

The draft law underlines that all trade unions enjoy equal rights. State bodies are obligated to extend equal treatment to all unions. State and economic adminsitration bodies shall refrain from any actions leading to a limitation of independence of trade unions or their lawful activity.

A trade union, says the draft, operates under its statute which should be compatible with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and with other laws of the land. In particular, trade unions espouse the principle of social ownership of means of production which provides the foundation for the socialist system of the state, recognize the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party in socialist building defined in the Constitution, and recognize the constitutional principles of Poland's foreign policy.

Membership of a trade union is voluntary. Nobody may suffer any harm on account of membership or non-membership of a union.

Trade unions represent professional interests of their members vis-vis the managements of factories and institutions, state and economic administration organs, social organizations, as well as in relations with trade unions of foreign countries, and they cooperate with these bodies and organizations.

Trade unions represent and defend the rights and interests of employees in the areas of working and pay conditions and welfare and cultural conditions, including the area of rational employment policy and shaping the rights and duties stemming from the labour contract, wages and other benefits accruing to employees, work safety and hygiene, welfare services rendered to employees and their families, shaping of prices and consumer market situation as well as the cost of living of employees and their families.

Trade unions participate in shaping and implementing socio-economic tasks of Poland's development, take steps to augment the national income and to distribute it in a just manner.

Trade unions carry out educational activity to shape work ethics and also to observe the principles of social intercourse.

The final article of this chapter says that trade unions may join international trade union organizations.

The next chapter discusses the principles of setting up trade unions. The right to set up and join trade unions is enjoyed by employees, regardless of the formal basis of their employment and the position held. A union affiliates workers employed in a given branch of work, a given kind of employment or a given trade.

Further on, the draft lists groups of employees that have no right to join trade unions. This applies to soldiers in active military service, civic militia and prison staff, and people employed in military units and in other organizational units subordinated to the minister of the interior.

Persons intending to set up a trade union elect a founding committee and adopt a statute. The number of founders on the day of submitting the statute to registration must not be lower than 30.

All members of the union enjoy active and passive electoral right. A statute may determine when administrative and elective functions in a union cannot be combined. Elections to the trade union authorities are by a secret ballot.

A trade union acquires legal status and the right to operate on the day of its registration. A court will refuse to register the union if the contents of its statute indicates that this organization is not a trade union as understood by the law or if the provisions of its statute contradict the provisions of the law. The court will strike the union off the register if a resolution on dissolving the union is statutorily passed or if the number of the union's member drops below 100 for a period of more than three months. The court's ruling on these issues may be appealed to the Supreme Court.

Trade unions have the right to form inter-union associations and organizations.

The next chapter deals with the trade unions' rights and duties. Trade unions are entitled to voice their opinion on assumptions or drafts of legal acts and decisions concerning the rights and interests of the working people and their families, including the living conditions of pensioners. This applies to drafts of socio-economic plans. A trade union's opinion formulated in writing should be submitted to an appropriate body of authority or administration within a month.

In case of divergent standpoints, the local authorities are obliged to express their attitude to the postulates or opinions of the trade union and to inform the union in writing on their standpoint, including the rationale behind it.

In the abovementioned matters the trade union has the right to express its opinion publicly, as well as at meetings of a respective Sejm committee or of a people's council and its bodies.

Trade unions have the right to put forth motions regarding the adoption or amending of legislation on the rights and interests of the working people and their families.

Trade unions have the right to make collective bargain deals on the national scale. Such deals encompass all employees of a given industry irrespective of union membership. In industries not covered by collective bargaining, the terms of employment and pay are agreed upon after reaching understanding with trade unions.

Trade unions have the right to make assessments of the working conditions, pay and living conditions of the employees. To this end trade unions shall be provided with full information on the social and economic situation in the country, voivodship and enterprise, subject to the unions keeping classified information secret.

Trade unions have the right to conduct their own research in the fields covered by their statutory activities, and especially statistical research, analyses of the price and pay index and other elements affecting the living and working conditions.

Trade unions have the right to conduct their own publishing activities for the purposes of the union and to conduct educational and cultural activities. They also have the right to present trade union affairs in the mass media generally available to critizens and their organization within the regulations concerning the functioning of these media.

The next chapter concerns factory union chapters. Their activity will embrace, among other things, working out a standpoint on all individual employees' matters within the framework of the labour code, working out a standpoint with respect to the head of an enterprise and the workers' self-management on matters concerning the rights and interest of the workforce and especially the factory rules, awards and bonuses, and for the working hours schedule.

The problems of collective disputes and the right to strike have been contained in the subsequent chapter. In case of a collective dispute the respective bodies of trade unions and the administration are obliged to immediately take up negotiations. If the negotiations do not lead to resolution of the dispute, each of the sides may demand conciliatory procedure. If a dispute above the enterprise level has not been solved thus, the sides are obliged to submit it to a social arbitration council of the Supreme Court, and in the case of a dispute within an enterprise, to a social arbitration council of the local Labour and Social Assurance Court.

Trade union have right to organize strikes. The notion has been defined in the draft thus: A strike consists in a voluntary collective refrainment by employees from work in order to protect the economic and social interests of a given employee group.

Strike is an ultimate means and cannot be declared without the exhaustion of the possibilities of solving a dispute by the means named above. When taking a decision to declare a strike, the trade union chapter shall take into account the compatibility of the demands with the losses connected with the strike. Strikes of a political nature are not allowed.

Participation in a strike is voluntary. Nobody can be forced to join or refuse joining a strike. A strike is to be declared at least seven days before its commencement.

Next the groups which do not have the right to strike are named. These are, amongst others, employees employed in units falling under the ministries of national defence and internal affairs, in defence industry enterprises, in plants supplying people with water, electric and heat power, gas, in enterprises producing, storing and supplying foodstuffs, in health service institutions. Strikes are also banned in work enterprises located in areas declared hit by natural disasters.

During a strike organized within the rules set out by the law, the employee retains the right to social benefits and other rights stemming from the employment contract, with the exception of the right to receive remuneration. Trade unions and their federations may set up a strike fund and decide on its utilization.

The next chapter formulates the principles of liability for violating the provisions of the law. Thus, a person who in connection with his post or function neglects his duties or in any other way violates the law, shall be fined up to 50 thousand zlotys.

A person who leads a strike organized against the provisions of the law, is liable to one year imprisonment or a fine of up to 50 thousand zlotys.

The voivodship court in Warsaw, in case of finding that a union chapter is conducting activities in outright violation of the law, shall declare a three-month period of adjusting the activity of the union organization to the binding law. Court procedure shall be initiated on a motion from the prosecutor general. Should that fail, the voivodship court in Warsaw may demand, among other things, new elections to the union's authorities. If these measures also prove ineffective, on the motion of the prosecutor general, the court may strike the union off from the register.

In the final chapter dealing with provisional and final regulations, it has been said that registrations of trade union made before the introduction of the new law will be no longer valid.

The starting of trade union activities will be taking place along the following schedule:

-- after December 31, 1982 in trade union organizations at enterprise level, but not before their statutes have been registered by voivodship courts,

-- after December 31, 1983, by national trade union organizations,

-- after December 31, 1984, by associations and inter-union organizations.

The Council of State, in justified cases, may bring forward the scheduled dates of establishing national trade union organizations and inter-union organizations.

In the transitional [word indistinct] December 31, union organization will be allowed to operate in an enterprise.

After 3 years from the introduction of the law, the Council of State, after consultation with trade unions, will make an assessment of the implementation of [word indistinct] if such a need arises will come out with an initiative to amend it.

Draft TU Law Introduced

LD081856 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 8 Oct 82

["Extensive excerpts" of report by Polish Sejm Deputy Wlodzimierz Berutowicz introducing the draft trade union law in the Sejm session on 8 October -- recorded]

[Text] Citizen Speaker. May it please the House. In the rich legislative achievements of the Eighth Sejm, which abound in legislative acts of unquestionable social significance, it would be difficult to point to a draft law which was accompanied by as great an interest of the broadest circles of the community as the draft law on trade unions has been.

This is fully understandable. The process of transformations which have been taking place in our country in the past few years is closely connected with the transformations of the trade union movement. The draft law on trade unions, giving these transformations legal shape, is to represent a reflection of the fundamental ideas of the trade union movement, and to define the principles of its organizations and functioning, taking into account the experiences and assessments which have arisen against the background of an extremely dynamic development in the period 1980-1982.

The elaboration and passing by the Sejm of the law on trade unions was announced as early as the Gdansk agreement of 31 August 1980. The most general principles on which the law ought to be based were formulated in this agreement. These principles are as follows: For all working people to associate voluntarily; for new trade unions, which would not become part of the association represented by the former Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ], to be allowed; and for the right to strike to be guaranteed through the definition of the conditions for declaring and organizing it, and of responsibility for violation of the law. It was decided at the same time that in the elaboration of this law the participation of the representatives of the chen Interfactory Strike Committee or of the founding committees of the independent self-governing trade unions, as well as of other representative bodies of workers, would be guaranteed.

May it please the House. It was stressed in the discussion on the model of trade unions in Poland that it was necessary to work out a separate law that would define the principles of the representation of the interests of private farmers, craftsmen and other people who conduct economic activities. This postulate with regard to farmers is being implemented by the presentation to the House today of the draft law on sociovocational farmers' organizations. The issue of craft associations, on the other hand, has been regulated by the law of 16 September this year. This details the need to restrict the subjective scope of the law on trade unions and to eliminate from the draft, regulations that concerned spheres which go beyong that scope, and to define clearly that the right to crreate trade unions and to associate in them belongs to persons providing labor within a work contract, irrespective of the basis of such a contract and post held, and that a trade union is composed of employees employed in a given area of work, in a given type of employment or profession.

In order to avoid any ambiguity with regard to the foundations and aims of the activity of trade unions, in the initial regulations their powers, tasks and duties were defined in a clear and concrete way. In Paragraph 1, not only is the right of all employees to create and associate in trade unions declared, but also how, in particular, their self-governing character should manifest itself is defined, namely in an independent formation of aims and programs of action, determination of statutes and other internal acts, definition of organizational structures, principles for election of boards and other leading organs of the union.

The principle of the independence of the trade unions from the state and economic administrative bodies has been clearly established. The first paragraph of Article 6 defines, in a more detailed fashion and even more extensively than before, the protective function of trade unions, listing in twelve sections the rights and the interests of employees whose representation and defense is the fundamental task of trade unions. At the same time, however, it has been pointed out that trade unions also participate in the shaping and implementation of socioeconomic tasks pertaining to the development of the country and serve to increase national income and further its equitable distribution. They have an educational influence in shaping professional ethics and honest and thorough performance of the duties of employees and also the observance of the principles of community life. This constitutes the third function of trade unions, established in Article Seven.

The regulations of Convention No 87 and also the International Statute of Civic and Political Rights as well as the International Statute of Social, Economic and Cultural Rights envisaged as permissible a statutory limitation on the right of members of the armed forces, police and state administration to set up or join a trade union.

On this basis and taking into account the defense potential and security of the country, the exercise of this right has been denied to soldiers on active military service and to the personnel of the Citizen's Militia and the prison service. Furthermore, a precise formulation has been provided for the right to associate in trade unions of employees working in military units and enterprises administered by the minister of national defense and the minister of internal affairs, settling at the same time, the matter of the professional representation of employees who have been excluded from exercising their rights to trade union membership. The establishment of the principle of the representation of the personnel employed in government offices, the judicial system and the public prosecutor's system, the state economic arbitration system, and the labor control and inspection system is to be provided in separate regulations.

Article 18 contains the provisions concerning the contents of the statute of a trade union. Its name should indicate the branch of labor, type of employment or profession of employees associated in the union, which is in accordance with the subjective definition of the scope of a trade union contained in Article 18. Article 19 states that a trade union acquires legal status and a right to act on the day of its registration.

The greatest difficulties were connected with the drafting of the chapter dealing with collective disputes and the right to strike. Recognizing that in our conditions collective disputes between employees and management may arise, efforts have been made to make detailed provisions for the process of negotiations which should lead to a solution of the disputes. In the event these negotiations fail to lead to the elimination of the disputes, the obligation has been envisaged for submitting the dispute to the social arbitration board attached to tribunals on labor and social insurance, in the case of disputes at places of employment, or attached to the Supreme Court, in the case of disputes at a level higher than the place of employment.

Strikes are admitted as a final resort, bearing in mind their immense material and moral harmfulness. However, in order to prevent any confusion on the subject, Article 37 has defined a strike as a voluntary collective withdrawal of labor by employees for the purpose of defending economic and social interests of the group of employees concerned.

A stike has been deemed impermissible when the dispute concerned can be solved through the decision of a body examining disputes deriving from the demands of employees, or if the strike is political in nature. Drawing conclusions from the past period and taking into account the protection of the most vital social interests, as well as the interests of the place of employment itself, detailed provisions have been made with regard to the duties of the organizers of strikes and of the management of the place of employment, stressing that the organization of and participation in a strike or a protest action does not remove penal liability for the infringement of law, especially for illegal seizure or use of property, for coercing other persons by force or illegal threats to abandon, resume or perform work, or for preventing or hampering the manager of the place of employment in the exercise of his duties.

In this sphere most difficulties were caused by the regulation of the exclusion of certain categories of employees from the right to strike. As a result of a long discussion and an examination of the arguments submitted by both representatives of trade unions and the authorities, in particular representatives of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a solution has been found which is regulated by Article 24. This solution is different, to a certain degree, from the regulation passed on 5 December. But I want to use this occasion to point out that at the end I will also present proposals for certain amendments arising from the remarks sent in yesterday by the International Labor Organization concerning the draft of our statute.

In this case, pertaining to the exclusion of the right to strike, perhaps as in no other case, one had to believe in the argument based on defense and security reasons and also on the commitments of our country as a member of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Pact. Certain amendments have also been introduced in the charter on the responsibility for the breaching of the regulations of the statute.

The fine has been raised generally to Z50,000. Before it was Z20,000. Apart from that, for leading an illegal strike a punishment of deprivation of freedom to one year and a punishment of the restriction of freedom have been introduced.

Apart from that, Article 48 has been completed with regulations regarding striking from the register a trade union that has not reacted to the court order to adjust its activities to the binding law, or one that is conducting activities contrary to the Constitution or other statutes. New regulations have been added concerning the establishment of trade union activities.

Taking into account the fact that all statutes of the registered trade unions were suited to other requirements in different social and political conditions, it has been decided that the registration of trade unions which occurred before the statute took effect will be involved. This means that a trade union has to have a new registration in accordance with Article 18 in order to start functioning. At the same time, the gradual implementation of trade union functions has been envisaged, and the Council of State has been authorized to define [word indistinct] a resolution on the principles and methods of this, with one reservation -- that during the interim period until 31 December 1982 only one trade union organization can be active in factories. Taking into account the peculiar nature of certain trade unions, it is envisaged that the Council of State will have the right to shorten the initial starting up period for national trade union organizations and associations and inter-union organizations.

Here I want to add that under the influence of remarks submitted by (?many), a similar shortening of this interim period when only one trade union is permitted was envisaged in the next and final article for the Council of State.

Also, matters involving the property of trade unions existing before the introduction of the statute will be handled by a provisional board. Through instructions and after consulting the trade unions, the Council of Ministers will be authorized to regulate the principles and procedures for handing over that property to the new trade unions.

Taking into account the fact that the draft statute was formulated in a particular situation, and that when it changed, certain regulations may not fully meet new needs, it is envisaged in the final regulations that after this statute has been in force for 3 years, the Council of State, after consulting the trade unions, will evaluate the implementation of the statute and will submit an initiative to change it if this is deemed necessary.

May it please the House. Yesterday opinions, that is remarks, arrived from the experts of the International Labor Organization. In general, one was to state that those remarks do not in any way breach the fundamental principles and the fundamental structure and core of our regulations. Today at 1200, the two commissions gathered in conference and examined the remarks submitted by the International Labor Organization, and I am authorized by the two commissions to submit the following amendments. It has been noted that in Article 4 the definition of the secure status of trade union members is too general, because it says: Nobody can be penalized because of one's affiliation with a trade union or one's remaining outside the union. That is why one suggests that a semicolon be placed there instead of a period and the continuation of that passage would read as follows:

In particular, this cannot be a condition for hiring, continuing employment, or promoting an employee, if regulations do not specifically prohibit membership in an employees' union for those employed in a given enterprise and in a given post.

Furthermore, addition of a second paragraph is suggested. Principles of protection of terms of employment of employees who hold an election post in union echelons are defined by regulations of the code of employment, because in the code of employment currently in force there are such regulations.

Furthermore, the minimum number of members required to prevent the union from being automatically removed from the register was questioned. In our draft, 100 members was envisaged as the minimum. Under the influence of, well, these observations that the international scale for these limits is 20 members, it is suggested that the number 100 is to be replaced with the number 50.

The next reservations concerned exclusions of the right to strike. In the opinion of the International Labor Organization, some work enterprises which we had envisaged for exclusion from the right to strike do not conduct, as they say, activity essential for the life of citizens. The issue of work enterprises which supply the population with water, electric and heat power, and gas is questioned here. In connection with this there is a suggestion that these words should be deleted in the first paragraph, but they should be transferred to Paragraph 3, which reads:

In the Polish state railways enterprises, and in other transportation enterprises, in communications units -- and here add the words, in work enterprises which supply the population with water, electric and heat power, as well as gas -- appropriate services in the area of the state's defense capability and security, as well as basic needs of the population, should be ensured.

Next is the questioning of the contents of Article 53. The fifth paragraph of this article is questioned, namely the following contents: that in the interim period, until 31 December 1984, one union organization functions in an enterprise. During the discussion we have recognized that this observation is not fully justified insofar as it does not consider regulation for the interim period -- it is clearly stated here, in the interim period, and not forever, but only in the interim period, considering the existing state in our country at the moment, especially the martial law. Therefore it is suggested that this right of the Council of State to shorten the period envisaged for starting activity, or inter-union association be extended to allow the Council of State, in justified conditions, to shorten this period before 31 December 1984. If conditions exist for shortening this period, the Council of State will be able to do that.

In connection with this, it is suggested that the following changes be introduced in Article 53: Paragraph 4 and 5 are to be reversed, and then, at the end of the new Paragraph 5, add:

The Council of State, in justified cases, may shorten the period defined in Paragraph 1, Points 2 and 3, and now adding Point 4 -- that is concerning shortening this interim period for the functioning of only one union organization.

May it please the House, these observations confirm the correctness of our path concerning regulation of the trade unions in our country. What this means is that, in this manner, it can be clearly seen that trade unions in a socialist country are one, not the most important, but one of the more important elements of a socialist state, and (?they) should be appropriately placed, and their activity coordinated with other elements of state reality. The act on trade unions is to be, as some say, a constitution of the working world, which defines the rights of working people and guarantees their implementation. But for full implementation of rights, it is necessary to create appropriate conditions. That is why the protective function of the trade unions must be accompanied by yet other functions, about which I have spoken, particularly the participation in the creation of national income, and the shaping of professional ethics, the conscientious and honest performance of obligations of employees, as well as the observance of principles of social coexistence.

The law on trade unions should therefore perform the role of a factor harmonizing the interests of all working people and their trade unions as well as favoring the organization of public life so that the functions of trade unions would not be opposed to the functions of the socialist state and its executive elements, but together with them should serve a comprehensive development of the nation and its creative resources and an ever better satisfaction of the needs of citizens.

The object of the law is to bring about a situation in which trade unions, as one of the major elements of our socialist state, shall make a joint contribution, together with other public and political organizations, state institutions and agencies, to the achievement of the main aim of our state -- continuous progress and development of the living standards of the citizens and society as a whole. On the other hand, the object of the law is to prevent the trade unions from being opposed to our state and exploited for action contrary to the most vital interests of the Polish nation, which has suffered so much in the past.

May it please the House, on behalf of the Commission on Labor and Social Affairs and the Commission on Legislative Matters I propose the adoption of the law on trade unions in accordance with Document 126 together with the amendments submitted in Document 1268, both of which I have laid before the House today.

Sejm Discussion

LD082350 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] PAP Warsaw 8 Oct -- After the presentation of the draft law on trade unions, plenary debate began in the Sejm with representatives of the PUWP, the United Peasants Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD) speaking on behalf of their deputies' clubs.

Jozef Barecki (PUWP) said that the PUWP deputies attached the highest importance to the draft trade union law debated today in the Sejm. It is a new and brave proposal, he said, compatible with international conventions and yet sovereignly Polish, a proposal corresponding to workers' interests and the interests of the society as a whole. It gives the unions wideranging powers, but also draws the limits to those rights in line with the general public interest.

The party, having in memory the experiences and lessons stemming from the crisis, is a spokesman for a strong position of and wideranging competences for trade unions, equipping them with all the instruments of protecting employees' interests, Jozef Barecki said. The law combines, at the same time, this function with corresponsibility for the production and the results of husbandry, for fulfilling duties and respect for work. A major step is being made, the speaker added, towards creating in Poland a trade union movement worthy of the contemporary needs of the working class and all working people, the state and the economy. If the trade union law is adopted and introduced, Barecki concluded, then a fundamental premise will appear for lifting martial law in Poland with all positive consequences of that.

Waldemar Michna (ZSL) said that despite the very complex circumstances in which the laws were being adopted, they would play a historic role. They would constitute important factors determining the nature of socialist democracy. They would also be an important factor of accelerating socio-political and economic reforms in the country, a momentous act on the road to normalization and emerging from martial law, he said. Waldemar Michna also expressed the opinion that the legal regulation of the issues concerning the employees' trade unions and socio-professional organizations of farmers was a matter of great urgency. It was indispensable to open up possibilities for [word indistinct] participation of the whole working world in solving the crucial matters of the economic reform. The speaker stressed that his party would vote in favour of the bills on trade unions and farmers' socio-professional organizations.

Speaking on behalf of the Democratic Party, Piotr Stefansci said that the trade union law was one of the most significant political-legal acts debated during this term of the Sejm. Solving the accumulated and emotion-laden problem of the nature and shape of trade unions in Poland, and in this way opening a road leading directly to the emergence of the country from martial law and laying foundations for a new, in the conditions of socialism, model of trade union activity, the bill had a great deal of chance of becoming a turning point in the political crisis affecting the country, he said.

The Democratic Party would vote in favour of the bill, the speaker said, adding that this resulted from a choice which gave the biggest chances for overcoming the present crisis and at the same time opened prospects for the development of the trade union movement in line with the needs of society.

Deputy Janusz Stefanowicz, on behalf of the Pax Sejm deputies club, said, among other things, that the tempo and manner of pulling out of the crisis will depend to a large extent on the Polish society's reaction to the draft law. In its present shape the bill reflects the spirit of the August agreements, confers on the unions the attributes of independence and self-governance and respects their multiple world outlooks [word indistinct]. If the bill were submitted for discussion at the end of 1980 it would have received nation-wide acclamation, said Deputy Stefanowicz. Now it is necessary to convince the society that in the form of the projected law it was winning a tool for effective defence of individual and group interests which it should use to full advantage. Referring to the experience of Solidarnosc, the speaker stated, among other things, that now it was necessary to say openly and show in practice that we did not want to eliminate from public life any of the positive values which enraptured the nation. On behalf of the Pax deputies, Janusz Stefanowicz expressed support for the draft law on trade unions.

Speaking of the draft law on trade unions, Deputy Edmund Osmanczyk (independent) said that [words indistinct] is going to have historical significance and that is why no deputy should approach the act of voting is this case from a purely formal point of view. "I am deeply convinced that it is not the matter of trade unions but the programme on how to attain reconciliation among Poles and reach prudent solutions which is of supreme state importance," he declared. Deputy Osmanczyk charged that the draft had not been adequately consulted.

Deputy Marian Sokolowski (PUWP) stressed that the trade unions which existed before 1980 made a great contribution to the development of our socialist homeland and to securing the interests of working people. From the past [words indistinct] unions -- both those before and after August 1980 -- we should take over all that served the working class and reject all that undermined its interests or the interests of the state. Martial law suspended the activity of all trade unions. Provisional social commissions which were then set up could not replace trade unions in view of their limited powers. Hence, the passing of a new law is universally looked forward to. The settling of the problem of the right to strike is a significant component of the projected law. The strike was treated as the ultimate measure and its proclamation will require an in-depth analysis of the ratio between the demands and the possible losses in production.

Deputy Zdzislaw Pilecki of the Christian Social Association (ChSS) said the ChSS deputies' club opts for political realism and is guided by the conviction that only the socialist Poland, observing her alliances, democratic, and based on the rule of law, can create adequate conditions for the present and future existence of her nation. Nobody either from the outside or from the underground can impose on us a concept and style of settling Polish problems which would not be concordant with our raison d'etre. Today we are facing a hard, responsible, and historic task: We have to take a decision for which millions of our countrymen are waiting throughout the country.

New TU Law Adopted

NC082046 Paris AFP in English 2039 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 8 (AFP) -- The Polish parliament today voted new labour legislation under which the Solidarity trade union will be dissolved. Ten deputies voted against the bill, which bans all the old labour organizations, and nine abstained. Among the ten MP's who voted against the bill were four members of the Catholic ZNAK group. Among them they were Ruszard Reiff, former president of the Catholic association PAX, the writer Edmund Osmanczyk and the chairman of the consultative Social Council, Jan Szczepanski.

The legislation provides for the establishment of new trade unions at factory level and accords the theoretical right to strike, but under terms which would make stoppages practically impossible. The diet (parliament) also adopted a bill on farmers' union groups which would make the rebirth of rural Solidarity impossible. On this bill, nine MP's obstained.

DEPUTY INTRODUCES FARMERS ORGANIZATION BILL

LD081704 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The plenary session of the Sejm has been going on for 2 hours. On the authority of the Legislative Work Commission and Agriculture and Food Industry Commission, the deputies draft bill on farmers' socio-vocational organizations was presented to the Sejm by Deputy Boleslaw Struzek.

He stated that the Agriculture and Food Industry Commission started work on the draft bill in September 1980. In March 1981 the draft bill on agricultural self-management was given its first reading at the plenary meeting of the Sejm and was sent for further work in Sejm commissions. At the same time the Sejm Presidium submitted the draft for social consultation.

The Agriculture and Food Industry Commission and the Legislative Work Commission have, in resuming work on the draft bill, been guided by the basic assumption that the prepared legal act should regulate in the best way the problem of vocational representation of private farmers and conditions for the development of an independent, socio-vocational peasant movement, utilizing the results of the social consultation, and taking into consideration at the same time the contents of the draft bill on trade unions as well as the views of experts and farmers' representatives who participated in this work.

The draft bill encompasses agricultural circles, rural housewives' circles, farmers' branch associations at parish, voivodship and national levels; unions of agricultural circles and organizations and unions of agricultural branch associations.

Deputy Struzek further stressed that the draft bill grants farmers' socio-vocational organizations wide powers in the representation and defense of farmers' interests. The act will guarantee these organizations the right to take part in shaping and implementing agricultural policy and laws pertaining to agriculture and to exercise social control, particularly in institutions serving agriculture. It will also empower the above-mentioned organizations to initiate, organize and conduct economic and social activities assisting the farmers.

The law now being considered envisages a wide range of means implementing the rights granted to the farmers' socio-vocational organizations, including protest action. The latter is to be a last resort after all other possibilities for the resolution of arguments are exhausted.

The first to take the floor in the debate which unfolded after the speeches of the rapporteurs, on behalf of the parliamentary PZPR, was Deputy Jozef Barecki. The next speaker was Deputy Waldemar Michna, from the parliamentary United Peasant Party.

I would like to add that the chamber has supplemented the agenda of the 2-day debate by the following item: report of the Internal Affairs and Administration of Justice Commissions on the government draft bill amending the act on combatting speculation. These draft bills, in conjunction with others, dealing with pensions, the highway code, etc. will presumably be examined tomorrow. The debate continues.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES SEJM SESSION 9 OCT

LD091810 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1703 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Speech by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, Polish Council of Ministers Chairman, to the Sejm on 9 October 1982 -- recorded]

[Text] An important session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic is coming to a close. We have executed the next step along our bumpy and arduous path. Many problems against which we have to struggle today both have their causes in the present and are rooted in the past -- economic, social, psychological causes. But not all want and can understand this.

Emotions take control. Nothing durable can be built on them. We often encounter mistrust and obduracy -- sometimes slanders. This is not a new phenomenon in our history. However, I believe that the future will convince the unconvinced that history will assess our efforts justly. The task of a government is not to seek applause. The task of a government is to act in conformity with the Sejm mandate, in the interests of the state and the nation.

The awareness of this duty compels us on occasion to swim against the current of settlements. It is well known how swimming with the current, the attempt to please everybody at the same time, has ended. More than 2 months ago I submitted the government's plans to the esteemed House. But time flies rapidly. New circumstances emerge. Changes occur on the international scene. Thus the need arises to look again at some present and long-term problems.

May it please the Sejm, the party, the people's power has carried out a profound self-critical evaluation of the past. But one cannot stay forever with ashes scattered on one's head. Nobody has ever acted this way, nor is anyone doing so now. It is not possible to cancel the history of People's Poland. It does not contain any lost periods. None of them can be adopted in full as a model, but none should be fully condemned or rejected.

These have been the years of a great national effort and attainment. It cannot be deleted by the present difficulties. We had to draw conclusions from them, to make the return of the evil impossible. This was done by the ninth party congress. Its innovative program is being translated into social practice. This is not a tactical manipulation. It is a necessity.

To depart today from the line of renewal would mean acting against socialism, against the will of the nation. The precondition for the successful shaping of the future of Poland is a sensible, creative and consistent development of socialist democracy. This can only be assured by a strong, effective and law-abiding state. The notion that civic liberty lies in a diminution of the rights and interests of the citizen is a dangerous delusion. In the past we paid the supreme price for this. Golden freedom, set against the interest of the state system, placed Poland in the grave for nearly 150 years. When the state grows weak, democracy expresses itself in anarchy. In turn, when arrogance, high-handedness and overconfidence [zadufanie] in the authorities appear, then the power of the state becomes illusory. The past years have confirmed this once again. The mirage of easy economic and civilizing success, the vision of Poland that had been painted, which took no account of reality, has been shattered. It lies at the roots of the present economic crisis. It yielded severe consequences in the form of prematurely aroused expectations for which there was no real cover. It led to a decline in social activity. From this the workers' protest of 1980 was born.

The demagogic vision of a lunar Poland [polska ksiezycowa] has also lost. Prosperity was to have arisen on the ruins of the economy. Everything was demanded of the state. Hardly anyone recalled the fact that one also has to give it something oneself. Freedom and democracy, erroneously conceived, lost their class character. They became their own contradictions. In the end they threatened the very basis of Poland's existence. This destructive deformation was brought to an end by the introduction of martial law.

May it please the House, the task of the authorities is to create a strong construction within which socialist democracy can develop. We are walking down this road more boldly and more consistently than at any other time. We are aware that for the moment the public reception of the reforms being introduced is not proportional to their real, long-range significance. A section of society still feels mistrust, which is purposely fanned by the opponent. Martial law also created psychological barriers.

However, we must not lose sight of life. Socialist renewal has been given the force of law through resolutions adopted by the Sejm. The role of the people's parliament and its public authority has grown, and the legislative activities of the supreme organ of authority have been without precedent in Poland's history. It is no longer merely a working Sejm, which public opinion demanded on so many occasions, but of late it has been indeed an overworked Sejm. The number of draft laws has been particularly great recently, and voices have even been heard to say that there have been too many draft laws. Yet this fact confirms our determined will to obtain, in a swift and irreversible manner, legal foundations for our process of reforms.

The system of socialist self-government is emerging and branching out: A number of advisory and consultative bodies have developed vigorous activities -- the practice of consulting work forces at places of employment is becoming ever more frequent. All this adds up the emergence of a new quality in our country's social and political image. This requires a new style of work -- the use of the institutions and instruments of socialist democracy is something that we must all learn.

May it please the House, the Sejm yesterday adopted the law on trade unions. This law opens a new and extremely important phase of the trade union movement. It constitutes a momentous act on the path to the normalization of public life, along the road leading to development of its democratic forms. However, voices have already been heard, both at home and abroad, and no doubt there will be more of them, which present the law adopted yesterday as a breach of undertakings, a striking out of the workers' hopes, as an attempt at returning Poland to the situation which existed before August 1980.

This is a lie. The authorities' true intentions with regard to independent, self-governing trade unions are distinctly testified by the facts. Was the use of force possible in August 1980? Yes, it was possible. Would it have been possible to introduce the state of martial law at an earlier date? Yes, this too would have been possible. The authorities had the necessary means at their disposal, just as they have them at their disposal today. Was the dissolution of trade unions possible even at the moment of the introduction of the state of martial law? Yes, this possibility did exist. Was it possible, even yesterday, to treat diversely all the various trade unions that have hitherto existed? Yes, it was possible. These are irrefutable proofs of our sincere intentions, our prudence in creating the same conditions for all trade unionists. This cannot be subverted by spokesmen of big capital who are today pretending that they are friends of the Polish working people. Only people who are very naive can fail to understand that in this continuous campaign against Poland they do not care about trade unions but rather about a struggle against socialism.

The situation in the Polish trade union movement has become a very complex knot of sociopolitical, psychological and moral problems. Emergence from that impasse has become absolutely necessary. The trade union movement cannot be and will not be either an extension of the administration or an antisocialist political grouping. The new trade unions have to be independent and fully self-governing. The essence of the social agreements of 2 years ago remain unchanged for today and for tomorrow.

At the same time, trade unions should be an indicator of tensions in an early warning system. To put it openly: It is more beneficial to expose people to the working masses' control than to wait until mistakes accumulate and lead to a conflict situation. The socialist authority needs a real partner, a partner who will tell the truth openly, who will criticize and even protest, but who will accept the burden of coresponsibility when the situation requires it.

The Sejm has merely given a legal framework to trade unions. The ultimate shape of the reborn trade union movement will be determined by the working people and nobody else. Richer by such edifying experience, they will pass judgment and save that which was right and valuable in each union movement from that which was leading it astray. In order to make this possible it is necessary to separate reality from emotions. Symbols, though important, are not the most important. What counts most of all is a suitable place for trade unions in social life, their authentic function as the guardian of working people's interests.

The bitterness of many trade unionists is understandable. We understand the attachment to the name Solidarity and human memory of that union's juvenile emotional dynamism. This many-million strong movement has never always differentiated between the broad mass of members and the adventurous extremist forces. A number of Solidarity factory units functioned in accordance with the statute, and this could have taken place everywhere. However, it did not.

The leaders of Solidarity were walking over the law, ruining the economy, and were conducting a struggle not only against the party and the government -- they also insulted the Sejm and thus all the deputies without exception, including those who have forgotten about this.

We know that members of the branch industrial unions have it rough. They have a long class tradition behind them. Even in the most difficult conditions they were able to reconcile the defense of the rights of employees with a sense of responsibility. The autonomous unions have had their achievements, too. The renowned union of the Polish teachers survived the stormy period in a dignified manner, along with other unfederated trade union organizations.

The statute creates equal chances for everybody. In our country there will be no second class citizens. Who comes from where is not important, but it is important whether he supports the socialist and workers' character of the unions and whether he confirms this by his actions. New trade unions will start their functioning from the lowest, primary level -- from the factory where everybody can get to know everybody. This is the most secure guarantee against manipulation and in-fighting behind the scenes. We feel respect for the wisdom of the working class and for its patriotism, its political wisdom. We believe that working people will reject advice given by false friends and that they will create unions that will match their real needs and the needs of the Polish People's Republic.

May it please the House, a strong state authority, a government that acts effectively, efficient and honest administration -- these are necessary conditions for the Polish state to be well governed, democratic and just.

The authorities must work for social trust. We have shelved the comfortable principle that only the opponent or predecessor makes mistakes, and that the present authority is always right. We also make mistakes. The only person who does not make mistakes is the one who does nothing, or who avoids responsibility for his decisions and sticks to the routine. The government can certainly be accused of many things but not of hiding the truth from public opinion. On the contrary, it works with the curtains open. It is in the habit of systematically informing society of government intentions or decisions and then about the state of their implementation. This also applies to voivodship administrative offices and voivodship defense committees. Even the problems of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been, to an allowable extent, embraced by the openness of public life. Formerly, it was not the custom for the minister to present to the Sejm detailed information about important current matters concerning the state of security and law and order in the country. I think that other investigative and administrative justice organs also will be able to give a broader account of their activities to the Sejm and public opinion.

The law must be constantly improved -- but understanding, observance and respect for it (?should also be taught). When an action is judged and a verdict passed, some people say that they are too harsh. Others, that they are too lenient. The most important thing is for them to be in accordance with the law, the same for all citizens.

The disease of bureaucratism is being combated. After extensive, laborious work, 750 outdated resolutions and decisions of the Council of Ministers, the Presidium and the former Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers have been repealed. That means about one third. (Word indistinct) of ministerial legal acts, about 30 percent have also been repealed, approximately 5,000 acts. The next (?series) of these measures is before us. There must be an improvement in the culture of administration, of the functioning of public utility services. The government has made it incumbent on ministers and voivodas to take measures that would make life easier for people to speed up the settling of matters in administrative offices and in institutions. No citizen coming in on business must be condemned to the condescension of the administrative office. There is no lack of people or institutions concerning themselves with the theory of the organization of labor. This is still, however, the weak side of our administration, from the supreme level downward. Some problems may be ironed out by the act of the Council of Ministers. Work on its draft is at an advanced stage.

The bill on state employees passed by the Sejm opens up new vistas for them. They can now look forward to professional stabilization [stabilizacja zawodowa] and upward mobility. This will help restore the social rank of the profession of office worker and will raise the level of administration. The Council of Ministers will soon examine executive acts attached to this law. The development of the system for the professional training of office workers will be the effect of a pragmatic approach to the issue. The center for postgraduate training of state administration employees to be opened shortly will play a foremost role in this system. We assume that the center will become something that will forge exceptionally valuable cadres in the future, cadres able to take over the highest positions in state administration in the future.

May it please the House, I will not dwell long on the economic situation. The next, 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum will give us the possibility to take a wider look at this situation. All that needs to be emphasized now is that our economy continues to groan under the burden of numerous difficulties. However, certain signs that an improvement is underway are already beginning to appear. After 2 years of continuous decline in industrial output we have recorded now, for 2 months running, an upward trend here. In September this upward trend was quite pronounced at 4 percent. Labor productivity is gradually going up, and the same applies to export: This year, for the first time for many years, we have begun to have a trade surplus with capitalist countries. The mining and energy industries continue to function well. Thanks to this it is possible to expect that in the winter Polish towns and villages will be adequately provided with heat. But only a year ago with what anxiety did we count the days before the onset of winter! All this serves to confirm the hope we all share: that we are on the right road and that economic decline has been arrested. The economy did not collapse or break up despite some people's predictions. Despite restrictions and a considerable curtailment of imports from Western countries we have not been brought to our knees.

This is proof that relying on our own potential, developing cooperation with the fraternal countries and availing ourselves of the Soviet Union's aid we are able to overcome truly enormous difficulties and to protect our national economy. Above all, the decisive factors are our nation's patriotic attitude and the working people's efforts. This deserves respect, all the more so since it is taking place in conditions of a serious decline in living standards and numerous difficulties in everyday life. The government will strengthen the positive signs and tendencies appearing in the national economy. A consistent implementation of economic reform should facilitate this, as should a proper utilization of its instruments.

Two weeks ago the Council of Ministers assessed the course of its implementation and the social effects of the reform. It instructed the introduction of essential amendments aimed at more effectively countering inflationary trends and increasing incentives for better, more efficient work.

The principles of shaping prices in enterprises must be urgently corrected. The government has instructed the preparation of changes which will effectively prevent unjustified price increases. Until they are introduced, we shall use all possible means to curtail harmful practices.

The right to establish independently negotiated prices [ceny umowne] will be taken away from those enterprises which abuse their independence. Official, personal conclusions will be drawn in relation to enterprise or association managements which engage in monopolistic (?practices). We assess such cases on a par with profiteering activity. In the present quarter a verification of trade profit margins will also be carried out. They will be lowered and wherever possible percentage profit margins will be replaced by quotas which should more effectively prevent an unjustified growth in prices.

In the reformed wage system the principle of connecting wage increases with growth in production and with work productivity must be enforced and this principle must not be distorted. In the meantime we are receiving signals that sometimes the resources earned by the work force earmarked for wages are being shared improperly. It sometimes occurs in some enterprises or cooperatives that excessively high raises are awarded to the management, employees of the administration, to the detriment of production employees, including brigade leaders and foremen, of whose position in the enterprise special care should be taken. [applause] In accordance with economic reform wages are established by the enterprises themselves. Therefore, the government appeals to the employees' self-managements and the cooperatives supervisory councils and also instructs the ministers and voivodas that they should firmly combat such practices incompatible with a sense of justice. [applause]

Guided by the (?decisions) of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, the government will continue with particular attentiveness and will initiate actions aimed at alleviating the burdens of workers' daily lives. It is a question of increasing deliveries to the market of basic goods, of justly supplying the various regions of the country, of the efficient functioning of trade and of making shopping easier. Above all, as far as present possibilities allow, we must ensure worthy conditions of life and work for the workers, the work forces of key production enterprises, the hardest-working people and those whose labor has a decisive significance for the country. To them priority is due in the division of that which as a result of their efforts is there to be shared.

It is not, however, sufficient to divide justly. Improvements in living conditions will be decided above all by the growth in production. So far not all possibilities and reserves are being exploited, and the independence which economic reform has granted is not releasing the essential initiative everywhere.

There are frequent cases of the concealment of ignorance, incompetence and passivity behind a smokescreen of protestations and barren complaints. Economic activists who in this most difficult period show initiative, economic imagination, and the relevant managerial qualifications, and after all there are many such people, have before them enormous scope for action, greater than ever before. Those who intend to bide their time, counting on survival, are committing a serious error. They will have to give up their place to more active, bolder persons. The reform must succeed, irrespective of the obstacles and barriers we shall encounter on more than one occasion.

Special attention is merited by the situation in agriculture. We confirm the consistency of the policy in relation to the countryside, and we shall take care over the further improvement of conditions for the development of agricultural production. We attach great importance to the rapid passing of a bill on social insurance for private farmers and their families. In the current year good results have been achieved in cereal production and not so good results in root crops. On the other hand, forecasts for next year's situation in animal raising are not too encouraging, and the level of cereal procurement in some voivodships remains, in relation to the yields achieved, distinctly disproportionate. Expressing gratitude to the farmers for their difficult work, for efficiently carrying out the autumn work, we appeal at the same time for understanding for the general needs of the community. We also confirm the invariability of the state's policy toward craft. We support its development, the creation of long-term stable conditions of work for honest craftsmen and small-scale producers, and their right to a worthy wage.

On the other hand, however, preying upon the country's difficulties, and dishonest self-enrichment at the cost of the public will be combated resolutely.

With this in mind, before this year is out a verification of agency contracts will be carried out. The working class, sensitized to wrongs and social evils, severely [words indistinct] those who make fortunes out of others' shortages, who mock at honest labor. The government is preparing and will submit to the Sejm draft laws on changes in the taxation system and amendments to the provisions of the Penal Code in the sphere of combatting bribery. The penalties for tax fraud will be made tougher, and we will strengthen the control system. Harder days are coming for profiteers and all the lovers of unearned gain. The crisis we are going through has aroused pathological phenomena which our state was not sufficiently prepared to combat on such a scale. We can expect that the amendment of the antiprofiteering law passed today by the Sejm, and above all the increasingly large participation by workers in the struggle against profiteering, will contribute to a more radical reduction and elimination of these phenomena.

The government has also placed before the esteemed House draft laws concerning procedures against persons who shirk work, on combatting alcoholism and on procedures in juvenile cases. We expect that they will be the object of the Sejm's decisions at the next session. Without a doubt the will of the working class, which unambiguously passes verdict on manifestations of social anomalies, illegality and injustice, will be respected. It is certain that laws alone do not solve difficult social problems but they create the legal basis for more effective action by the state and society in this field.

May it please the House, the life of Poles has been profoundly marred by conflicts, mistrust and intolerance.

Our sorely tried nation, so often deluded by promises, worn out by anarchy, disillusioned by phraseology with no intrinsic value, sometimes begins to doubt whether it is possible to achieve a better life in Poland, to alter the situation. When in many families it is hardly possible to make both ends meet, when the purchase of a pair of shoes becomes a problem, it is difficult to think about the future, about great Polish issues. However, it is necessary. In the past our nation withstood even harder tests, proved capable of rising from misfortunes, and so we too must find strength in ourselves for achievement. This is why we are seeking accord; the opportunity is here.

A great idea is being born in Poland: the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). It is growing continuously from the collective wisdom of the nation, from the inner need of the people who think in categories related to the whole of the community.

It is their initiative that produced even in December 1981 the first civic committees of national salvation. The PRON cannot be organized to order; it emerges spontaneously. In our public life it constitutes an extremely valuable phenomenon. It is developing not from the top but from the foundations. It has initiated the coalition of the forces of good will based on grounds of paramount interests: the socialist character of the state, constitutional public order and the inviolability of Poland's alliances. Those who recognize these foundations will find a place for themselves. Those who do not want to accept them may well proceed to build sand castles for their own use.

It would be naive to pursue the mirage of an artificial unity. We are not putting forward a slogan of all-embracing mutual love but we say: Let us try for the sake of the nation to find an accord despite everything and notwithstanding everything. To reach an accord means above all the wish to understand others, to get rid of oversimplifications, prejudices and the arbitrary character of assessments and solutions. It means to think about Poland, socialist Poland because there is no other Poland and there will be no other Poland.

In a socialist state accord must have a socialist content. This content is decided upon by recognizing the paramount nature of the interests of the working people, and above all the working class. The more we deviate from this principle, the further we go away from socialism and the closer we get to the next conflict.

The PRON can become a vital lever of socialist democracy. It may accommodate different outlooks, tendencies and aspirations, diverse viewpoints of public organizations, large and small, the youth movement, centers of artistic and literary activities, regional groups, religious associations, and all kinds of communities and associations. On this plane there should be cooperation between those without any party allegiance and those who are party members, between believers and nonbelievers, between the nation and the authorities. In particular let this be a field for vigorous action by the majority of the nation who belong to no political party, providing a form of self-organization for patriotic progressive forces to support the authorities but also to exercise appropriate control over the authorities and over the manner in which authority is exercised. The state administration will receive instructions to meet halfway the initiatives of the PRON and movement for national salvation regional committees and to treat favorably proposals submitted by these committees. The administration's good disposition must not, however, degenerate into a formalistic attitude or destroy independent action. The movement should rally together the very best public activists, even those who are difficult and unyielding but who are enjoying genuine prestige within their walks of life.

The principles of the movement's program are emerging during the discussion. At the very outset it can be seen that they assume the setting of ambitious tasks and objectives. There is room for every kind of initiative. The PRON committees could for instance appoint in their areas community trustees [spoleczny maz zaufania]. The movement should also have the opportunity to influence public opinion through its own publications. It is necessary to put on record our appreciation of the work carried out so far by the initiating commission, and the situation is becoming ripe enough for national elements of the movement to be formed. This work has been undertaken, along with representatives of the party and the allied parties and of lay Catholics' associations, by personalities who enjoy universal respect and whose achievements and prestige are generally recognized.

New applications are flowing in and we count on further membership. It is our desire that the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth acquire the widest possible range, that it should embrace everything that is patriotic, authentic and just in Poland, in line with the raison d'etat of the socialist state. This possibility can be exploited or lost. Whoever stands back could soon become an alien in his own country. I am speaking about this openly. We understand the perplexities and doubts. Let us hope that people will not again talk like last year about lost opportunities.

May it please the Sejm, in the deed of national accord an important role could be played by the denominational bodies, above all the Roman Catholic Church. The mutual relations between the church and the state constantly arouse conjectures and speculations, particularly abroad. Their objective is clear -- to discredit the socialist state. The exaggeration of controversies, in the name of non-Polish, cold war objectives.

During the past 10 centuries of Polish statehood a permanent truce has not prevailed in the relations between the church and the state. There have been conflicts, at times much more acute than during the postwar period. In People's Poland as well relations between state and church have taken different turns. Now these relations are not bad. Of course, they could be better. But they could be worse, too. There are differences of opinion, but they should not lead to conflicts. Both sides would lose, above all the Polish community. Today we want to take from the past and from the present all that brings us together, not what could be divisive.

We appreciate the contribution of Christianity to our national identity and culture, the ethical values. We respect the patriotic bearing of the Polish clergy during the war years. This is confirmed by the participation of a state delegation in the ceremonies canonizing Maksymilian Kolbe.

A great attainment of People's Poland is the freeing of world outlook from the political element, the freedom of conscience, the disappearance of the once acute antihumanistic divisions into believers and nonbelievers.

The equality of citizens, irrespective of their beliefs, guaranteed by the Constitution is being observed. We attach great importance to the participation of lay Catholics in the state and social life. They are now being represented in large numbers in the organs of the state authority. They participate actively in the commission initiating the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, making a valuable and constructive contribution to its formation.

There is a prominent place for the church in the social life of socialist Poland. We meet half way her requests and postulates, which are related to the discharge of her pastoral mission. No doubt there is no other country in Europe, where so many churches exist, where the Roman Catholic Church has such favorable conditions for her activities. I think that it is worthwhile to appreciate this. One has to state, however, with regret that not all are pleased with the prospect of a harmonious co-existence of believers and nonbelievers. Inflammatory voices can be heard, originating from the darkest pages of counterreformation. Illegal actions also occur. The champions of politicizing the church, who support trends ousted by history, link up not with the conciliatory spirit of the Second Vatican Council but with the evil traditions of political clericalism. In Poland there is no future for fanaticism.

The great majority of the Catholic clergy and the clergy of other denominations are interested in stable, constructive relations with the state authorities. They understand the requirements of the national raison d'etat. This stance meets and will meet with our full understanding. We see a possibility for widening the dialogue and constructive cooperation. It is with this intention that the consultative Economic Council affiliated with the Council of Ministers has recently embarked on a discussion with members of the Social Council of the primate of Poland.

Lively interest has been aroused by the second visit of His Holiness John Paul II. The authorities of the Polish People's Republic have adopted a universally known, unequivocally positive stance on this issue. The date and conditions for the preparation of the visit are the subject of working, well-advanced decisions within the framework of the joint government and Episcopate commission. We are prepared to finalize them. This could take place during the meeting between the primate of Poland and the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

May it please the House, it is not in the interest of the community to obliterate the existing political divisions, nor does its interest lie in precipitate and premature censures. We do not consider as opponents people who are lost, disorientated, or simply duped. There is still no small number of them. In turn, the name opponent is willingly assumed by those who are only capable of expressing resentments and delivering admonishments.

It is part of present fashion for people to sulk at the authorities. As a rule, this is more ridiculous than it is dangerous. Once, for several years following the war, there was futile waiting for a rider on a white horse. He did not come. Things will be no different this time. However, another opposition exists, the one without question marks, obdurate, inspired by the subversive foreign radio stations which is even prepared to provoke bloodshed. The activity of the counterrevolutionary groups means that the application of extraordinary measures is lasting longer than we had intended. Nevertheless, we are not entrenched in a state of martial law. We maintain our intention to suspend or even to lift it, should the conditions be fulfilled which were formulated on this dais on 21 July. The recent incidents strained the practicability of this intention. I count, however, on the fact that it has not been canceled.

We will lift the individual restrictions of martial law as speedily as possible. Voices are being heard, and by no means rarely, that this is too rapid. There are various views of this subject among the public. Citizens present them in numerous letters. However, we desire consistently to go down the road announced on 13 December. Acceding to the proposals of the initiating commission of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth, we will, as the state of security and order in the country improves, limit the use of internment. Further considerable releases of internees are envisaged shortly. The members of illegal groups who have so far been in hiding are freed once they have surfaced of their own free will.

They are being given a chance to return to normal life. We would like to continue this. The minister of internal affairs is preparing an amendment to the law on passports. The process, shaped on the basis of the existing regulations, will be aimed at narrowing the restrictions on, and at further facilitating the right of the citizen to travel abroad.

Before submitting the draft law the government will make a detailed study of the proposals made by citizen deputies and by the public.

Citizen Speaker, may it please the House, our great national poet prayed for a great war of nations. Today one should rather offer prayers that our free country should be preserved and saved from nuclear disaster. There is no point in trying to frighten Poles. They do not scare easily. Nevertheless, it is necessary that we, as citizens and patriots, be constantly aware of the unfavorable changes in the international situation. The confrontation course of imperialism, more than ever since the end of World War II, creates the danger of war. World peace is threatened, above all, by the NATO armament programs.

The negative attitude of the U.S. administration, which fails to take into account the voice of the people of the world, leads to an impasse in all the most important international negotiations. The Soviet Union has declared that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons. The United States has refused to give a similar guarantee. Washington has even rejected the idea of freezing nuclear capabilities in the United States and the Soviet Union, an idea proposed by a group of prominent U.S. politicians. These facts spell only one thing.

We do not live in a vacuum. Our internal problems have, in the present situation, become a fragment of a global rivalry between capitalism and socialism. Those who do not wish to understand this have no moral right to express their opinions about the future of the state and our nation. One must not toy with Poland. We live in a world of realities in which there is no room for infantile illusions. In critical international relations this period requires a special sense of reality; it requires a mental process capable of anticipating events. The military and political objectives of the Atlantic treaty have nothing in common with the interests of Poles. We retain our inalienable right to decide about Polish matters. Poland will not be a passive instrument in the game involving the Siberian gas pipeline. [applause] It will not be a stooge in the implementation of the objectives of others.

It is with great attention that we have been watching lately the changes taking place in the Federal Republic of Germany. The attainments so far achieved in the development of our bilateral relations, both in the field of politics and in that of economics, have contained a good many positive elements. We hope that they will not suffer as a result of the change in the government in Bonn. We are continuing to declare our readiness for mutually advantageous cooperation, which must respect the balance of power in Europe and the integrity of European borders. The agreements concluded between our two countries are irreversible in the light of international law. This constitutes a good point of departure for the continuation and development of bilateral relations. It creates the possibility for the Federal Republic of Germany to increase its contribution to the cause of detente.

Everything that is happening on German soil arouses our understandable vigilant interest. The current and the long-term interests of our nation will always provide the basis for our assessments. The attitude of Christian democracy to Poland displayed hitherto, the bellicose statements of some politicians, their identification with the revanchism of the so-called Landsmanschaften dictate redoubled circumspection. Some Poles, who are the second generation born in our Western territories, still receive from over the Elbe letters warning them not to purchase real property including agricultural land. A budding trust can easily be ruined; it is difficult to mend. The achievements attained in the process of normalization are still brittle; the wounds of the past have not yet healed. The nationalist rightwing elements on the other side of the Elbe encouraging great German aspirations are once more on their way into a blind alley.

In this context, in particular, every Pole can realize the momentous importance of the alliance and friendship which link us with the first socialist German state -- the German Democratic Republic. In these dangerous times, particular importance for Poland is assumed by the feeling of community with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and our membership in the great defensive coalition -- the Warsaw Pact.

Poland has an interest in the prosperity, might and security of the Soviet Union. The Soviet ally is interested in a strong, stable and secure Poland. [applause] We have mutual respect and trust. Resolving in a sovereign manner our own domestic problems, Poland is increasing its credibility as a partner and ally. I am pleased to state to the esteemed House that during the meeting I had last August in the Crimea with CPSU Secretary General Leonid Brezhnev the convergence of the interests between Poland and the Soviet Union found an unequivocal expression. [applause] There was also common concern as regards the prevention of the threat of war. Poland's true security and its national territorial integrity have their sole guarantee in the political system which took shape as the result of World War II. The construction of peace in Europe, erected on mutually indivisible agreements in Yalta and Potsdam, is based today just as it was based throughout the postwar years on close linkage between the interests of all socialist countries. Every attempt to disturb this system and to manipulate its elements must lead to very dangerous consequences. We realize this in Poland.

May it please the Sejm, I shall go back to the leading idea of today's speech. We are today laying foundations for the solutions and order which will unfold in our country after the return to full normalization. We want a strong and viable state, the crown of communal life, and to enjoy the unflinching support of an organized democratic society. Society will have a guaranteed influence on the activities of the state. This is a complex process which requires time, but reforms are an occupation for persevering and patient people.

The evaluation of its results also calls for patience. The history of our nation consists of great and valuable achievements, but also too many renunciations and unfinished works. A hundred years ago one of the greatest Polish historians, Michael Bobrzynski, said: We must reveal in all their grimness the results of recklessness and of elations based on momentary sentiments, in order to preserve enthusiasm but arouse in ourselves political sense, exploitation of circumstances and energy of perseverance and work. Not much can be added to these words today. We will not achieve much while standing with one foot in the era of [word indistinct] and the other end of the 20th century. We will not be able to cope with the call of the future while tossing between elation and desperation. The destiny of the fatherland depends on all of us. Today's worries, wrongs and feuds will in a while remain only as memories. It is for Poles to decide what is going to happen. [applause]

Citizen Speaker, may it please the House, I should like now to present proposals for changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers, starting with the government Presidium.

I propose the recall of vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Citizen Zbigniew Madej, from the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission and to appoint to this post Citizen Janusz Obodowski, who will retain his present post of vice chairman of the Council of Ministers.

As a result of this shift, I intend to entrust to Deputy Premier Madej all the problems of economic cooperation between Poland and other states, including the chairmanship of the Polish delegations set up for such cooperation in permanent interstate commissions.

On the other hand, Deputy Premier Obodowski will have the authority for direct coordination of cooperative decisions in line with the strategy of getting out of the economic crisis and forward planning. In these circumstances, the Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers will be dissolved, with the simultaneous assumption of its functions, to a considerable degree, by the government Presidium and partly by the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, with an appropriately strengthened composition.

All in all, there has been a streamlining in the division of responsibilities inside the government Presidium, without increasing its membership, and guaranteeing the entire Council of Ministers, including the Planning Commission, a better work organization, coordination and cooperation.

Assuming the acceptance by the chamber of the above cadre proposals, I thank the deputy premiers, Citizen Janusz Obodowski and Citizen Zbigniew Madej for work in the previous system, and I wish them success in their new posts.

I also propose the recall from the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Citizen Andrzej Jedynak. The chamber appointed him to that post at the time it entrusted the office of premier to me. We have worked together up to today. I value his work and cooperation with the government Presidium. I am renouncing it for the important reason of appointing him the ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the fraternal Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Citizen Andrzej Jedynak, who in his time has already gained experience in the diplomatic service, has accepted this proposal. On my part, convinced of the approval of the proposal by the chamber, I would like to thank him warmly and wish his further achievements. In this conviction, I present the proposal to appoint Citizen Zbigniew Szalajda to the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, with his simultaneous recall from the post of minister of metallurgy and engineering industry. I think that his worthy contribution to the government's activity in his post to date is a good recommendation for this proposal.

Now, on the ministerial level, I propose the recall of: Citizen Marian Krzak from the post of minister of finance, with the simultaneous intention to use his great experience in another responsible [word indistinct];

Citizen Tadeusz Opolski from the post of minister of construction and construction materials industry, in connection with the need for a reorientation of the ministry toward increasing housing construction and changes corresponding to this in the post of head of the department. I would like to take this opportunity to stress with recognition the exemplary attitude of Citizen Opolski, which he displayed a year ago in an exceptionally difficult situation for the ministry, when he agreed to take the office of minister, and now when, in view of the changed needs, I intend to entrust him with another post in the state administration;

Citizen Antoni Rajkiewicz from the post of minister of labor, wages and social welfare, at his request, with the intention to return to scientific and teaching work at Warsaw University. Citizen Antoni Rajkiewicz, as a professor, an eminent specialist in the field of social policy, has agreed at the same time to be included in the composition of the consultative Economic Council, in whose work he will serve with his knowledge and experience;

Citizen Jozef Tejchma from the post of minister of culture and art, at his request. Citizen Jozef Tejchma as a long-serving political and state activist, will be used in another responsible state service.

I would like to thank warmly citizens Marian Krzak, Tadeusz Opolski, Antoni Rajkiewicz and Jozef Tejchma for all their efforts made in work in the government and for their valuable contribution to the work of the Council of Ministers.

I propose the appointment of: Citizen Stanislaw Kukuryka to the post of minister of construction and construction materials industry; Citizen Edward Lukosz to the post of minister of metallurgy and engineering industry; Citizen Stanislaw Nieckarz to the post of minister of finances; Citizen Kazimierz Zygulski to the post of minister of culture and art. I will propose a candidate for the post of minister of labor, wages and social welfare to the chamber at one of the next sessions.

Because I presented a profile of Citizen Janusz Obodowski to the chamber at the session on 31 July last year and the profile of Citizen Zbigniew Szalajda also last year on 3 July, I will confine myself to presenting, citizen deputies, only the new candidates for the ministerial posts.

Stanislaw Kukuryka was born in 1928 in Wegorzyce near Lubin in a peasant family. He graduated from the Lublin construction school and then from the Faculty of Law at the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University, gaining the title of bachelor of social sciences. From 1947-1955 he worked at the meat distribution board in Lubin as director of investment and construction section. From 1955-1958 he held the post of head of the countryside construction board of the voivodship People's Council Presidium. Then until 1965 he was chairman of the Lubin Housing Cooperative Board. Subsequently, until 1966 he was director of a section of the Central Union of Housing Cooperatives. From 1967-1972 he was deputy chairman of the Central Union of Housing Cooperatives in Warsaw. In 1972 he became the chairman. He is a deputy to the Sejm of the seventh and eighth convocation, and a PZPR member.

Edward Lukosz was born in 1929 in Czechowice in a working class family. He completed higher education at the Urals Polytechnical Institute, gaining the title of bachelor of sciences in technical engineering. In 1956 he commenced employment at the mechanical equipment plant in Poreba near Zawiercie. Gradually he became chief of production. In 1961-1963 he was chief engineer at the Andrychow engineering factory. Until 1964 he was the managing director of the design bureau for building-block machines and tools in Warsaw. Until 1973, he was appointed to the post of director of almagation of engineering industry at the Council of Ministers Planning Commission. He is a member of the PZPR.

Stanislaw Nieckarz was born in 1941 in Stanowka in Moldavia in a peasant family. He graduated from the Faculty of Financial Management at the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw gaining a diploma in economics. He commenced work in 1965 at the Ministry of Finance, and gradually advanced to the post of director of a department of industry and construction of this ministry [word indistinct]. On 1 June 1977 he was transferred to work at the PZPR Central Committee in the position of deputy head of the section of planning and economic analysis. Since February 1980 he has been deputy head of the team of economic advisers to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. In November 1980 he was appointed deputy chairman, first deputy chairman of the National Bank of Poland. He is a PZPR member.

Kazimierz Zygulski was born in 1919 in Wolanka near Boryslaw into an intelligentsia family. He studied at the Faculty of Law of the University of Lwow during 1937-1941. In 1961 he gained the title of doctor, and in 1963 the title of professor. During the Hitlerite occupation he was active in the Lwow area resistance movement, and stayed in the Soviet Union from 1944. After his return home in 1956 he worked until 1959 in the Institute of Sociology and History of Polish Culture of the Academy of Sciences in Lodz as a senior tutor. In 1959 he started work at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. Until now he has been in charge of sociological research into culture. During 1970-1971 he was professor at the state higher film and theatre school in Lodz. Then until 1982 he was adviser to the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He has written numerous scientific works on the sociology of culture. He is a member of the Polish UNESCO Committee, member of the Polish Committee of International Museums Council and member of the Presidium of the State Prizes Committee. He does not belong to any party.

Jablonski Address

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[Speech by Polish Council of State Chairman Henryk Jablonski at the Sejm on 9 October 1982 -- recorded]

[Text] Citizen Speaker, may it please the House: The bill on people's councils and territorial self-government [samkorzad terytorialny] was born of the desire to perfect the system of democratic institutions in such a way as to make it accord as much as possible with the social content of the exercise of power in a socialist state. In order to get nearer to this goal it was necessary to proceed from obvious truths which, as experience shows, tend to be forgotten, with bitter consequences for the country. The ideal of social justice must impart a direction to all political and economic transformations initiated by the state.

However, it cannot be fully implemented without realization that the working masses of the nation are not a subject, but the object of the historical process, a conscious and active oreator of their own fate. This means that democracy is a natural form of the structure of power, its exercise and the process of management in a socialist system, since this arises from its very essence, from the ideological assumptions of socialism. Therefore, socialism will determine the conditions and circumstances in which fundamental principles of democracy can be implemented. No other social system makes this possible to such an extent. Along with these principles of democracy go the principles of power by the people, of equality and all citizens and of freedom of the individual.

The implementation of these principles is a necessity and this cannot be overemphasized. Only in the initial stage of a socialist revolution or in cases where the state is in particular danger can the exercise or power -- to use almost hackneyed expressions -- in the interests of the people, rather than by the people, be justified. Any deviation from this principle makes it more difficult to make progress in socialist construction, since it is tantamount to depriving oneself of the main force which determines the process of consolidation of the state and the best possible course of development of its economy. It also means that the development of political culture of the state is hampered and that protection is lost against the ever-present dangers, such as the abuse of power, destabilization of socially justified proportions in the setting of goals and tasks of the state economy, errors in the application of means and methods of work of administrative organs and the like. The more complicated the process of management gets, in the technical sense, the more it requires specialized, expert knowledge and the higher the role of the main form of participation by the masses in the process of management -- democratic control -- becomes.

Deviations from the principle under discussion also cause a progressive weakening of social responsibility for the way the country's situation is developing, even in the fields which depend directly on it. People become more sensitive as far as any and all crisis phenomena are concerned, irrespective of their sources. Signs of frustration and resignation become more and more obvious. Against this backdrop people become more receptive to demagogy of its [not further identified] false defenders, and this can produce consequences that are dangerous to the state and the public alike.

We have examples of this in our country, especially last year. For instance, we have had various anarchic trends existing side by side. This was reflected, among other things, in the slogan advocating the self-governing republic, or in the idealization of bourgeois democracy and the system of its institutions based, more often than not, on a flimsy, surrogate knowledge of what it really is like without any understanding of its social content, which was reflected, among other things, in the juxtaposing of territorial self-government against the state.

All this had to be taken into consideration by the authors of yet another version of the bill in order to include it in the best possible method in the great process of socialist renewal, in the return, in all spheres of social life, to the fundamental ideological assumptions of socialism and the consequences ensuing from the restoration of reality to the political and social precepts formulated in the Constitution of our state.

Also from this emerges the particular legislative activity of the esteemed House designed to create legal guarantees for the practical application of these principles. All this yields a new, perfected shape to the legal system of our country. Of particular importance in this system are the people's councils, which by virture of Paragraph 43 of the Constitution, are local organs of the state authority and basic organs of social self-government. On how they are situated in the overall system of solutions of the state, on their terms of reference and possibilities of action, depends their role in the implementation of the first, fundamental principles of democracy -- the power of the people -- and the range of their influence on the realization of the two remaining ones -- equality and freedom of the individual.

From the principle of democracy emerges the double nature of the people's councils, determined by the Constitution and their natural link with other organs of the local government, and above all with those which encompass the totality of citizens. The bill underscores this by combining in one legal act the problem of the councils and local government, within the framework of which they play a basic role.

It was not a question of formal considerations, a mechanical inclusion in the bill, as assessed by some critics of the self-government of the urban and rural inhabitants. The reasons were more profound; in fact, in the existing circumstances the objective was the best possible reflection in the bill of the two major characteristics of socialist democratization.

Thus the creation of conditions for a regular widening of the social base of state power and such a conception of democracy, continually deepened, which would be expressed not solely by elections which transfer power to the people's conscientious and active participation of citizens in the shaping of the conditions for their life and work, and indirectly in influencing the destiny of their region and the country. It is for this purpose that the draft bill contains a combination of the representative system with elements of direct democracy, which does not exist in the currently binding legal regulations.

Citizens, deputies, departing from the general assumptions just presented, the draft bill is to answer, in conformity with the intensions of its authors, the postulate contained in the decision of the Ninth PZPR Congress which states that decisions concerning matters related to the work establishment, village or parish, town and voivodship, must be based on legally regulated principles of a socialist social self-government. The formulation used deal at the same time with various spheres in which the principle of democracy is to be implemented through social self-government. And that is how we must look at the currently presented draft bill, a twin bill to those decisions of the esteemed House which pertain to economic reform.

Needless to say, we do not have in mind here a detailed solution which could be altered and perfected but rather the same ideological assumptions and major directions of changes as well as the establishment of close links between a great part of the problems regulated by this bill with the whole of the national economy. From this point of view the bill on people's councils and local self-government can also be assessed as a component part of the economic reform, as an indispensable supplement of earlier legal acts pertaining to it.

Whether and to what extent we have succeeded in wording it correctly in the draft bill will be examined with their customary clear-sightedness by the relevant commissions of the esteemed House.

It would not, therefore, be proper now to trespass on the time of citizen deputies by outlining individual articles of the draft bill. However, I would just like to turn my attention to a few characteristic features. The first is the principle of decentralization. It accords with the premises on which the economic reform rests. [Words indistinct] within the scope of state authority which can be better executed if wide ranks of the citizens join the process of formulating the local law. I have in mind here the process of management and, particularly important, control of the method of functioning of authority and administration organs.

Active participation by the citizens in the process of shaping their own conditions of life and work, in solving local and regional problems, their conscious participation in the implementation of national goals must be ensured by an appropriate structure of democratic institutions. The structure of territorial self-government serves this aim. It includes people's councils and self-government organizations of towns and villages. Territorial self-government, along with similar bodies of workers, farmers, employees, cooperatives, as well as self-government of social and cultural organizations creates, according to the principle of the connected vessels, a system of social self-government. In this way the system of socialist democracy builds extensive foundations for the organs of authority of the whole staff.

Territorial self-government, in accordance with the draft bill, has a whole defined system of legal and competent means which bear a decision making, opinion-giving, postulate-making and controlling nature. Voivodship, town, parish, town-parish and district people's councils constitute the organs of territorial self-government. In housing estates and villages this role is assigned to meetings of the inhabitants, estate committees, rural congregations and [word indistinct] councils.

The concept of decentralization is not confined solely to the axis center, the regions; it has also been applied within the system of people's councils. Efforts were made to make it more flexible, more receptive to regulation from within and by itself, more sensitive to external stimuli, to the needs of the subject of territorial self-government, that is to say, inhabitants of towns and villages, to the necessity of making ad hoc improvements to the management system in practice. That is why each people's council -- and this is something new -- has to decide itself on its own internal organization. Therefore, the draft provides for the following: people's councils, on the basis of their own appraisal of local requirements, will determine the number, kind and scope of their permanent commissions. The only exception here is that people's councils will have the obligation to set up permanent commissions in charge of matters pertaining to social self-government. It is also proposed that the principle so far in force, according to which people's councils had to have held a certain number of sessions by law, will be abrigated. [words indistinct] Only one exception is being provided for, and this is quite understandable. Each people's council must at its session approve the budget and the economic plan and see to it that these are executed.

Even further deepening of the self-government principle is possible. This is because the draft provides for the following: primary level people's councils can transfer some of their powers pertaining to the satisfaction of the population's requirements to the self-government bodies of inhabitants of towns and villages. In this case the given self-government body has the right to pass resolutions of binding force. These decisions have a legal force equivalent to the people's council resolutions.

May it please the House, a particularly difficult and controversial problem during the public debates on the bill was the definition of the tasks and rights of the people's councils. The proposed system of powers of the people's councils treats the regional self-government not as a structure separate from the state and in competition with the state organs, but as a decentralized form of organizing public life, organically linked with the implementation of state authority in the field of its action. From this fundamental assumption a number of principles arise, which have found their development in the relevant articles of the bill. The first of them is the general clause establishing that to the people's councils belong all those matters that are connected with satisfying the needs of the population and the development of the region, with the exception of those that the bill regulates in a different way.

In accordance with this principle, among the powers of the people's councils are all those matters from the area of state power and administration that were not put by the bill under the jurisdiction of other state organs. Connected with this is the extremely important decision concerning the scope of the powers of the primary level councils. The bill makes these the main regional unit of the state and self-government system. Thus, the primary level people's councils are appropriate in all matters in the sphere of the activity of the people's councils. In cases of doubt as to whether the voidodship people's council of the primarily level council is appropriate, the jurisdiction of the primary level people's council will (?prevail). This is in accordance with the fullest possible implementation of the principle of regional self-government.

Moreover, the bill introduces into the jurisdiction of the people's councils the institutions of inherent and entrusted tasks [pol zadan wlasnych i zadan prorczonych]. The institution of inherent tasks constitues the foundation of the entire self-government system of the people's councils. The categories and kinds of inherent tasks are named in the bill. The most important thing is that the bill contains a guarantee which ensures the permanance of the councils' self-government powers. In the future it will not be possible to change any inherent powers that have been granted to the councils by any means short of a bill. The bill confirms this with the regulation that changes in the inherent tasks of the people's councils, defined by the regulations of the bill, may be named only by amending these regulations.

The institution of entrusted tasks is based on a special provision of the law. It is possible to entrust to the people's councils certain tasks only when they are commissioned by a bill or resolution of the Sejm -- or a legal act issued on their basis and for their execution -- given the simultaneous handing over of the appropriate resources.

Connected with the jurisdiction and the inherent or entrusted tasks of the people's councils is the problem of financing their activity. In the bill, the self-financing of the inherent tasks is regarded as the supreme principle of the economic budget, with the expenditure covered by resources from the council's own income, from the central budget and from subsidies. This also holds true for financing entrusted tasks within the framework of subsidies received and earmarked for a given purpose.

The bill also proposes the recognition, by the bill, of the principle that the people's council independently disposes of the savings and budget surpluses which have been gained.

At this point we may ask the question: Are the financial bases of the regional self-government, defined in the draft, already sufficient? In order to conform with the other existing regulations, and at the same time to create a point of departure for further growth of the council's own income, one should have restricted oneself to the proposed general formulations.

However, at the same time it is advisable to postulate that the issue of the financial sources for the self-government functioning of people's councils would soon be decisively regulated in the new statute called the budget law.

The self-governing structure that is being created in the bill will require a departure from previous practices and will require territorial activists to change their view of their role in economic life.

People's councils will have to be able to influence effectively the economy of the region with the help of economic means and through consultations and agreements.

If the people's councils are to influence effectively the economy of enterprises, the link between people's councils, the fundamental organ of social self-managements, and enterprise work force self-management must be increasingly utilized.

The complex mechanism of the reformed national economy will require careful coorrelations between its various departments and subjects both in the branch and territorial structure.

People's councils, thanks to their position of territorial self-governments, are becoming in real terms -- and not in formal terms -- the lawful administrators of their regions, responsible for coordinating the entirety of the economic activities which are being developed within them and the needs of the life of the community.

That is why in the draft statute the means which make it possible for the people's councils to establish the correct placement on their territories of all kinds of enterprises, to reconcile the process of further industrialization with protecting the natural environment and to create a determining link between industrial investment and the participation of the investor in the development of the local technical, economic and social infrastructure, are being fortified.

In this context we should see the competence of people's councils concerning town and country planning which will serve the best possible utilization of the values inherent in the region in question, the prevention of thoughtless management of arable land and the preference of temporary branch interests over the local populations's long-term interests.

In the draft regulations, and in the legal acts which have already been passed, it is envisaged that an integration of town and country planning with socioeconomic and financial management will occur. Emphasis has also been placed on extending the so-called horizons of planning and its socialization through the population's broadened participation in the shaping of the context of individual plans.

One of the main assumptions of the new statute is, as mentioned before, to unite the system of people's councils with the whole mechanism of the implementation of authority in the state.

Placing the councils, as territorial state organs, under the supervision of supreme state organs ensures that this supervision will be carried out in forms which will not undermine the councils' self-governing character and thus will not restrict their responsibilities.

Mutual relations between people's councils and the supreme state organs are not expressed in simple relations of subordination and supremacy. Relations between the councils and the center are new in quality and their essence is mutual influence and a bilateral flow of inspirations, proposals and (?feelings).

People's councils are to obtain entitlements to active participation in the formulation of decisions adopted by the Sejm the Councils of State or the Council of Ministers on matters pertaining to the sphere of action of the people's councils concerned. Thus it becomes the function of people's councils not only to implement locally policies which are uniform throughout the state and which conform to the nation's general and long-term interests, but at the same time to participate in the shaping of these policies and to be creatively involved in the formulation of the objectives and tasks of the policies in question. These principles have been reflected specifically in the proposed regulations which grant voivodship councils the right to examine and assess the national socioeconomic plan in so far as it affects the voivodship concerned. They are reflected also in the regulations which make it possible for the voivodship people's councils to bring forth legislative initiative in matters which, in the opinion of the local authorities, require new or amended statutory treatment. They are also reflected in those regulations which make it incubent upon the central authorities to consult voivodship people's councils before the adoption of decisions of importance to the region concerned.

The work of the system of people's councils, as in the case of any other public structure, is determined by people, in this case the deputy elected to the council. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that it is proposed in the draft law to put forward regulations covering the rights and the duties of the deputy which will precede the regulations concerning organizational structures. The reason for this lies in the fact that these regulations are to serve the purpose of allowing the deputy to develop extensive and effective activities. The draft law of course preserves the principle that the deputy must act in accordance with the general interests of the state and, as a member of a local organ of authority, he must keep in mind the interests of the region as a whole but at the same time he should take into account, in accordance with the spirit of the whole reform, the point that he can strengthen the local authority above all through its close links with society. At the same time this is the way to achieve consolidation of the position of the councils in society.

Consequently, the deputy must have the ability to express the interests, views and opinions of the social groups and walks of life he represents. In this connection it is envisaged to put greater emphasis than has been laid in the regulations hitherto on the duty of the deputy to maintain permanent contact with various groups of his electors through, among others, regular meetings, participation in the meetings of self-management bodies of residents and also any other ways which may not be specifically mentioned in the draft law.

Another trend of the changes proposed aims at increasing the effectiveness of the deputy's activities, at making his participation more efffective in shaping the resolutions of the people's councils and also at ensuring that his proposals and questions are received with greater and appropriate respect by those to whom they are addressed.

The bill makes a people's council session the most important forum of the work of the deputies, where joint decisions are made. The principle has been adopted that every issue within the responsibities of any one organ of a people's council is also within the terms of reference of the concerned people's council, while it is in session. A more precise list of issues subject to obligatory examination and decision at plenary sessions have been formulated. A session of the people's council may, naturally, raise other matters, if the law does not refer them specifically to the scope of responsibility of other state organs.

The people's council, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the organization of the people's power in a socialist state, gives effect to the principle of its paramount position over the local administrative bodies which are its executive organs. In accordance with this principle, people's councils must obtain a significant influence over appointments to the directing posts in those organs, at the same time taking into account the fact that these organs are simultaneously the local organs of the state administration and are implementing locally the policy of the central authorities. Second, in accordance with the principle of paramount position it was necessary to include in the bill provisions which make more binding the directives issued to the administrative organs by the councils. These provisions also make the control of the councils over the administrative system more effective and the responsibility of the administrative bodies to the councils easier to enforce.

For this purpose there will be more specific regulations concerning the means of the control of the council, the deputy and the council's commissions, and, above all, of the Presidium of the people's council, which becomes the very center of the harmonization of checks and controls within the system of the organizational structures of the people's councils. In parallel, the bill defines in general terms the scope of the responsibility of the voivoda as a representative of the government, and also the president or the chief of a town or of a parish.

May it please the House, outlining the bill, one has to say a few words about how it came to the Sejm. Above all let me remind you that the bill was preceded by the compilation of the so-called draft provisions for the bill, published last summer. They received wide publicity and were the subject of a lively discussion. Postulates and opinions were examined in detail. In this way the bill was compiled with the participation of the widest numbers of the public and various communities.

Each of the successive versions was subjected to various consultations. The first versions of the draft were debated by narrow groups of experts, including teams from the Economic Reform Commission and those concerned with its practical application. This was, for instance, the case at a meeting of all chairmen of voivodship people's councils with the participation of chairmen of primary level people's councils and voivodas who were also invited. Remarks and postulates made at that time served to improve the draft, prior to it being passed for general, nationwide discussion at the beginning of June this year.

The text of the draft bill, published by RZECZPOSPOLITA together with its justification -- and this constitutes something new, something that proves the weight we attach to social consultations -- encountered an exceptionally lively reaction in almost all social and professional communities in our country. The widest response came -- and this is quite understandable -- from counsellors and self-government activists. From all voivodships came remarks which were the result of discussions, meetings and conferences held there.

Opinions and postulates expressed a practical view of the resolutions proposed in the new bill. Opinions of activists of self-governments of inhabitants, of the aktiv of the National Unity Front and of numerous civic committees of national salvation were very numerous, very concrete and very much related to the issue under discussion. Apart from these opinions, one must say a few words about another group of postulates that came from those employed in local administration [words indistinct], from voivodas and various executive officers. There were also proposals and remarks by ministers and heads of central institutions. Subsequently, they were given expression in a synthetic compilation of the position of the government Presidium.

The draft bill was also discussed by PZPR aktiv, ZSL and SD. The extensive and multi-layered basis of the bill also caused social organizations, associations and even certain enterprises to send in this postulates. Opinions of scientific communities were also very numerous, both from universities and the Polish Academy of Sciences. I can only state that the response to the bill by those communities, which at a series of conferences and symposia debated the complex problems of people's councils, constitutes a proof of great civic spirit.

Letters sent in by individual citizens, full of concrete and constructive proposals, constitute another large group. They expressed sincere interest in a further development of representative institutions, and against this backdrop deeper reflections were formulated about the fate of our fatherland and the shortcomings that can be seen and about ways of removing them by collective effort of the nation.

I wish to thank warmly from this lofty rostrum all those who spoke in the discussion on the bill. They all have contributed to it.

Citizen deputies, we have prepared this bill with the wide participation of the public. As far as the intention of the authors is concerned, it is to open up a new stage in the implementation of the idea of power by the people. Having been considered and improved by you, it will become a law that expresses the interests and needs of the widest ranks of the nation, its universal property, and a guarantee of an increasingly better implementation of the fundamental principles of democracy. Stimulating the activity of local population in the economic and political life, it will at the same time become an important factor strengthening the state and developing socialist social relations in our country.

SEJM APPROVES JARUZELSKI'S MINISTERIAL CHANGES

LD091620 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] Next the Sejm made changes in the Council of Ministers at the proposal of the premier.

The Sejm has recalled Deputy Chairman Zbigniew Madej from the post of chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers; Andrzej Jedynak from the post of deputy premier; Zbigniew Szalajda from the post of minister of metallurgy and machine engineering; Tadeusz Opolski from post of minister of construction and construction material industry, Marian Krzak from post of minister of finances; Antoni Rajkiewicz from post of minister of labor, wages and social affairs; Jozef Tejchma from post of minister of culture and art.

The Sejm has appointed Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski to the post of chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers; Zbigniew Szalajda to the post of deputy premier; Stanislaw Kukuryka to the post of minister of construction and construction materials industry; Kazimierz Zygulski to the post of minister of culture and art; Stanislaw Nieckarz to the post of minister of finance; Edward Lukosz to the post of minister of metallurgy and machine engineering.

URBAN, NEW MINISTERS HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE

LD092316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] After the conclusion of the House's debates a press conference took place in the Sejm building with the participation of foreign and Polish journalists.

The newly-appointed members of the cabinet presented their credentials and characterized the most important problems, the solutions to which they will deal with in the near future.

After these presentations the government members replied to questions. Asked about the date of the reactivation of the union of Polish writers and the association of Polish filmmakers and other artistic organizations, Minister Zygulski stressed that he hopes that this problem will be solved to the advantage of the culture of the community.

The FINANCIAL TIMES journalist referred to part of General Jaruzelski's Sejm speech and asked whether there exists an interdependence between the meeting of the premier with the primate and the announcement of the date of the pope's visit to Poland.

In reply government press spokesman Jerzy Urban, who chaired the conference, stated that there is no connection between these matters; nevertheless, in the premier's view this meeting will be the most appropriate opportunity for announcing the date of the pope's visit.

There were also questions concerning the release, announced by the permier, of a successive group of internees. Jerzy Urban said that we should expect a separate communique on this matter. Asked whether Lech Walesa, in the event of his receiving the Noble Prize, would be able to receive this distinction personally, the government press spokesman stated that he will reply to this question when the issue arises.

REPORT ON POPE'S CRITICISM OF UNION DISBANDMENT

LD102310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Report by Rome correspondent Pawel Wasielewski from the Vatican]

[Excerpts] Today at Saint Peter's Square at the Vatican the solemn canonization of Maksymilian Maria Kolbe, inmate of the Hitlerite concentration camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, took place. The ceremony was attended by tens of thousands of people, including 12-13,000 Poles from home and abroad. Some 40 bishops were present.

Among those present was also the Polish state delegation led by Deputy Speaker of the Sejm Prof Jerzy Ozdowski, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; Zenon Komender, chairman of the PAX Association and member of the State Council; Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Christian Social Association; Prof Dr Adam Lopatka, head of the Office for Denominational Affairs; and Prof Dr Jerzy Kuberski, head of the Polish group for permanent working contacts between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Holy See. Later the pope recited the noon prayer of Angelus Dei and then greeted, in their native languages, the pilgrims present at St Peter's Square, including Poles.

Recalling the personality of Janusz Korczak [a Polish Jew who went to the gas chamber with a group of Jewish orphans he looked after] the pope condemned Saturday's terrorist attempt on the synagogue in Rome.

At the end of his address he spoke critically of the decision of the Polish Sejm which disbanded all the trade unions in Poland, referring only to the dis[illegible] of Solidarity and failing to make any mention of the formation of new trade unions which will act on the basis of the August 1980 accords.

After the solemnities of the canonization, John Paul II received the official Polish delegation. During the meeting which took place on the territory of the Vatican the pope thanked the delegation of the Sejm, the Council of State and the government for participating in the solemnities.

Calls for 'Return of TU'

LD111442 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1100 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Speech by Pope John Paul II to delegation of Polish bishops on 11 October in the Vatican -- read by announcer]

[Excerpt] Recent years have brought about in Poland a movement of social and moral renewal, based on the correct striving to strengthen the dignity of man and human labor, a movement of renewal with which millions of Poles linked and are linking their hopes for a better and more joyful tomorrow for Poland. It is of great importance for the significant contents and values of this renewal not to be wiped out from Polish reality.

I am living through the present situation in Poland together with you and many others. I said to the leaders of the federation of trade unions from various countries at a special audience on 9 February of this year: I share your conviction that the return of true and full respect for the rights of the working people, and in particular their right to their own trade union, which has already been created and legalized, constitutes the only way out of this difficult situation. Work is the key to the life of society, work undertaken of free will and not imposed by force, work which brings with it toil but which at the same time can make people free and true builders of their community.

Addresses Vatican Audience

LD111432 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1204 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Speech by Pope John Paul II to participants attending the pope's audience at the Vatican -- live]

[Excerpts] I greet the government delegation of the Polish People's Republic. I thank them for having arrived to take part in the canonization of Saint Maksimilian. [applause] I cordially greet all our guests.

We are all deeply moved by the fact that Archbishop Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, could not come to take part in the canonization solemnities. [applause] Together with him we feel deeply for the issue that was instrumental to his remaining in Warsaw, conscious as he is of his pastoral duties and his responsibility as primate. [applause]

Nor do we seek to conceal that this very issue, symptomatic of the current situation in our fatherland, affects and moves us all deeply. What is at stake here, and here let me again use the words of the Krakow metropolitan, what is at stake is this: Nothing must be lost from what is great and just, from what has come into being during the past 2 years thanks to which we feel that we are more the masters of this land than previously. [applause -- singing of the Polish national anthem]

When I was going through the hall I heard and saw many tears. Things cannot be good if our fellow countrymen arrive here for the canonization of their compatriot with tears bristling in their eyes. They were no tears of joy. [applause]

No, they were no tears of joy. Along with them we have had words and calls, and that is why I wish to reply to them. Through you present here I wish to reply to those who are absent, above all to those who find themselves in internment camps and prisons. [applause]

I wish to answer those who suffer in the land of Poland in one way or another. I also wish, from this place, to address my words to the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. I wish to say to them: Let there be no more tears. Polish society, my nation, does not deserve the fate of tears of despair and resignation. It deserves something else: the building of a better future for itself. [applause]

I wish to reply to what the metropolitan of Krakow said when he referred to my pilgrimage to the fatherland in connection with the Jasna Gora anniversary. I wish once again to state that I regard this pilgrimage as my sacred duty. I also regard it as my right, despite everything, as the bishop of Rome and a Pole. [applause] That is why I continue to express the hope that the conditions will be created which are necessary for the pilgrimage to take place. This would be in keeping with the great dignity of our 1,000 year-old nation. [applause]

These were my thoughts which came to me when I found myself among you.

Receives Government Delegation

LD102218 Warsaw PAP in English 1808 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Text] Vatican City 10 Oct -- Pope John Paul II received here today the Polish official delegation who have been visiting Rome now to take part in the ceremony of canonization of Father Maksimilian Maria Kolbe.

The delegation led by Deputy Sejm (parliament) Speaker Professor Jerzy Ozdowski and Deputy Prime Minister Zenon Komender includes member of the Council of State Dep. Kazimierz Morawski, head of the Office for Denominations Minister Adam Lopatka and head of the group for permanent working contacts between the Polish Government and the Holy See, Minister Plenipotentiary Jerzy Kuberski.

John Paul II expressed his thanks to the delegation of the Polish Government, Sejm and the Council of State for coming to the canonization ceremony.

PAP SCORES REAGAN COMMENTS ON NEW TU LAW

LD101638 Warsaw PAP in English 1434 GMT 10 Oct 82

["New Sanctions by Reagan" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Washington 10 Oct -- PAP correspondent has reported that during his weekend stay on his California ranch, the U.S. President Ronald Reagan made a radio speech in which he expressed his anxiety on the passing of the new trade union bill by the Polish parliament Sejm. Reagan thinks that from a distance of many thousand miles he knows better than the Poles how to rule and arrange things in their country.

The same man who crushed with an iron fist and the help of police and police handcuffs the strike by air traffic controllers is now telling the Polish working people and the Polish parliament how to shape relations between trade unions and the state.

Recognizing that the new bill is not up to his liking he declares that America cannot remain indifferent. He therefore gives an order to take measures aimed at suspending the most favoured nation status for Poland's exports to the U.S. market, which aims at curbing Polish exports or reducing their profitability, i.e., the taking over by the USA of part of Polish national income. He also declares that he will take such moves with respect to United States' Western allies that would bring about similar measures on their part.

At the same time Ronald Reagan states hypocritically that his moves are not directed against Poles but against the Polish Government. He is trying to dictate, not for the first time, to a sovereign state, its parliament and government, the conditions which he thinks must be met in order to deserve a liberal treatment by a distant superpower, and he names among them the lifting of martial law and the release of internees.

The Polish press agency PAP, in connection with President Reagan's statement on Polish affairs, finds it necessary to remind that the Polish Peoples Republic is not a banana republic where the President of the United States can consider himself authorized to impose American law. Poland is not a member of NATO, but a member of the Warsaw Pact and an ally of the Soviet Union. Polish Army along with the Soviet Army hoisted the Polish flag on the ruins of Nazi Germany.

The Polish press agency would also like to remind that in the history of Polish-American relations so far it is rather the Americans who have the reason to cherish the memory of Pulaski and Kosciuszko. PAP would like to express its doubts whether President Reagan is likely to become in the future an American Kosciuszko for Poland.

The Poles have enough reasons to feel friendship and sympathy towards the American nation. Hundreds of thousands of our countrymen emigrated to the United States of America at the time of Poland's partitions and in the period of independence between the wars to seek an elementary human right, the right to work which they could not exercise at home. Many people of Polish descent as well as Poles temporarily staying in the United States during World War Two played a significant role in the U.S. shift from isolationism to the anti-Nazi coalition. It is enough to recall here the role played by Polish economist of world renown Oskar Lange in the electoral campaign of Franklin Delano Roosevelt which led to the establishment of that coalition. A coalition whose victory determined a new deal in the world and in Europe, the deal introduced by the Yalta and Potsdam accords, opening the way for setting up the United Nations Organization. A coalition from which the Western states shifted to the policy of cold war soon after destroying the Nazi Reich.

Sometimes in the past, for several years after the war, "A rider on a white horse" had been expected in vain. He did not come. This time is not going to be different either.

The Polish press agency recalls that similarly as after World War Two General Anders did not ride into Warsaw on a white horse. Similarly today no Californian rider is going to come to Poland on any horse. The Polish press agency would wish to remind all those who wish to interfere in an inadmissible manner in Poland's internal affairs and sovereign decisions of her highest legislative parliamentary authorities that they are violating good diplomatic customs, the Charter of the United Nations and offend national feelings of Poles.

SOLIDARITY LEADERS URGE BOYCOTT OF NEW UNIONS

NC092047 Paris AFP in English 2031 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 9 (AFP) -- Nine imprisoned leaders of the outlawed Solidarity union today called on workers to boycott new government-sponsored trade unions. In a document smuggled out of the Bialoleka Prison outside Warsaw, the nine said that the government action banning Solidarity this week was an "arbitrary" action, adding that regulations of the International Labor Organization recognize the dissolution of a union only by its own members.

"We have no doubt that Solidarity will continue to exist and fight for the reestablishment of democratic liberties," said signatories Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Karol Modzelewski, Lech Dymarski, Andrezej Sobieraj, Grzegorz Pugka, Andrzej Gwiazda, Seweryn Jaworski, Jan Rulewski and Antoni Tokarczuk. "We have no illusion that the new unions under the direction of the Polish communist party will be anything other than a new means to subjugate the workers. Accordingly, the new unions must be boycotted," they said.

The Solidairty leaders, claiming to hold the mandate of the workers who elected them, said participation in the government-sponsored unions would be "an ignoble act of collaboration." However, the nine, who represent the regions of Warsaw, Wroclaw, Poznano, Radom, Lodz, Gdansk, and Bydgoszcz, emphasized that the smuggled documents represented only their personal views. They said they would defer to Solidarity's clandestine Provisional National Commission to set the independent union's future course of action.

INITIATION GROUPS FOR NEW TRADE UNIONS FORMED

LD121326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] After the announcement of the trade union law, PAP reports that initiation groups are being formed to set up primary trade union branches.

In Poznan Voivodship such groups have already been set up in more than 120 enterprises. They are active in, among others, Cegielski enterprise, in a factory repairing railway equipment, in a special machine tools factory and in a factory of the sugar industry Goplana.

In the Czestochowa Bieurt Steel Works the initiation group consists of 90 persons who represent all currents of the trade union movement hitherto. In Czestochowa Voivodship initiation and founding groups of the new trade unions have embarked upon working out a statute. In Leszno Voivodship party meetings of employees are taking place during which resolutions concerning the trade union law are being discussed. In this voivodship also advisory and consultation points are being set up, which will provide information and explanations concerning the law. In Olsztyn a special team to provide advice about trade unions has been appointed, composed of about a dozen members of the Association of Polish Layers. The teams's tasks are to give legal advice concerning creating new trade unions in accordance with the regulations of the law passed by the Sejm. Its permanent place of functioning is the seat of the voivodship People's Council. As of today the team is on duty during fixed hours, with the exception of Saturdays and Sundays.

AUTHORITIES RELEASE 308 INTERNEES 11 OCT

LD111818 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] Following the announcement made in the Sejm speech by Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, the minister of internal affairs issued an order releasing 308 internees. Those freed from internment are the persons whose attitude makes it certain that they will not undertake actions harmful to the political interests of the Polish People's Republic.

Improvements in the state of security and order in Poland will further limit the use of internment and more groups of the internees will be released.

SITUATION IN GDANSK REPORTEDLY TENSE

Workers Forced To Disperse

LD111856 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Report by unidentified reporter from Gdansk]

[Text] This morning a portion of the work force of the Gdansk shipyard interrupted their work and assembled near gate No 2. This was meant to be a protest against the Sejm law on trade unions. In other work enterprises in Gdansk, the work forces worked after discussions. Union initiative groups also came into being in Gdynia's Dalmor plant and in the Gdansk refinery.

We took these pictures in the Gdansk shipyard between 1500 and 1530. One can see that there is not much interest in attempts to bring about demonstrations. Following the first shift the majority of the shipyard workers made their way home. In the vicinity of gate No 2 and the shipyard workers monument, small groups of onlookers assembled. After 1600, once dusk had fallen, several groups who were disturbing the peace were called on to disperse. Since they did not comply with this call, the forces of order compelled them to comply.

Wrzeszcz District Incidents

LD121316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] According to PAP, yesterday evening, in the Wrzeszcz District of Gdansk, acts of vandalism were perpetrated by brawling gangs comprising mainly young people.

Two private vehicles were set ablaze and kiosks, public benches and neon advertisements were destroyed. The incidents continued late into the night. The forces of order restored calm with the use of tear gas, smoke bombs and water cannon. About a dozen people were arrested.

Riot Police at Shipyards

NC121126 Paris AFP in English 1112 GMT 12 Oct 82

[By Jacques Michel Tondre]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 12 (AFP) -- Workers in the Lenin Shipyards in the Baltic port of Gdansk went on strike immediately today for the second day running when they arrived for the first shift at 6:00 a.m. Large numbers of riot police were positioned around the shipyards with water cannons and light armored cars at 9:00 a.m. [0800 GMT), the AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent in Gdansk reported. But it was impossible to tell if this was a precautionary measure or the prelude to a storming of the shipyards, the correspondent said, after travelling 50 kilometres (30 miles) along the coast to Elblag to file his report. Telephone links with Gdansk have been cut since yesterday, although Telex communications were restored today.

The shipyards were the site in 1980 of strikes that led to the creation of the independent trade union Solidarity, suspended when martial law was declared on December 13 and banned last week. The workers demanded the release of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and all people interned or arrested since December 13, the lifting of martial law, and the reinstitution of Solidarity and all other unions, according to a leaflet distributed yesterday afternoon at a meeting inside the shipyards and brought to Warsaw by a traveller. The leaflet said the strike would continue over the next few days from 6:00 a.m. until the shift ended at 2:00 p.m. and urged workers unable to enter their shipyards to assemble in front of the monument to the dead from the December, 1970 Baltic port riots.

Signed by "The Workers of the Tri-City (Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot) shipyards", the leaflet said: "Work will not resume as long as Lech Walesa has not appeared in the shipyards." Newspapers here spoke in veiled terms today about events on the first day of the strike yesterday. They said many workers had shown "excessive emotion" about Solidarity during "discussions" in businesses in the region. "In practice, work was normal everywhere except for the Lenin Shipyards where "groups of workers' attempted work stoppages but did not win support from their comrades," the newspapers said, adding that similar situations were observed in other businesses, which were not specified. The papers also said there were "attempts to demonstrate" yesterday evening by "irresponsible elements" who were dispersed by militia. "Some of the organizers of this demonstration were arrested and calm was reestablished," the reports said.

When police roadblocks were lifted at 7 p.m. yesterday to let newsmen enter Gdansk, fragments of tear gas grenades, smoke bombs and stun grenades littered the streets around the shipyards, journalists reported. They also saw debris from street barricades of benches and garbage cans that had been smashed by armoured vehicles. Rubble from shattered barricades littered the railroad station 300 meters (yards) away, the communist party headquarters and the old town centre. Fragments of grenades were being crunched beneath the tires of patrolling armoured cars and water cannon. Witnesses said riots had raged in the suburb of Wrzesscz, where Solidarity's headquarters were before the union was suspended by martial law last Dec. 13, and then dissolved by parliament on Oct. 8.

CEAUSESCU DEPARTS FOR OFFICIAL VISIT TO BULGARIA

AU120855 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0845 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/10/1982 -- On October 12, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Elena Ceausescu, left for Bulgaria for an official visit of friendship at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM CONCLUDES

Personnel Changes

AU081926 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Proceedings of the RCP Central Committee plenum, chaired by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, concluded today. During the second day of plenary proceedings, the following comrades took the floor: Ioan Avram, Eva Feder, Ion Radu, Teodor Roman, Ion Patan, Dan Surulescu, Trandafir Cocirla, Gheorghe Dinu, Ilie Bologa and Nicolae Constantin.

Referring to the documents included in the agenda, all speakers highly assessed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive contribution to drafting and implementing our party-state policy devoted to ceaselessly increasing the country's industrial and agricultural production, developing science, culture and arts, continuously raising all the people's material and intellectual well-being, ensuring the further flourishing of the fatherland in full freedom and independence and increasing socialist Romania's prestige and role in the world.

Answering the appeal, orientations and guidelines of the party secretary general, the speakers pledged -- on behalf of communists and all working people in the collectives they represent -- to work with revolutionary self-denial and devotion to successfully fulfill economic tasks this year and proceed to commendably carry out provisions of the 1983 plan, with a view to fully attaining the current 5-year plan targets and unflinchingly implementing the 12th party congress decisions.

The Central Committee unanimously endorsed the documents included in the plenum's agenda, in this connection, it adopted a resolution that will be published.

The plenum discussed certain violations of party discipline and of our state's laws. It adopted a number of organizational measures. Examining serious transgressions in the foreign trade activity, which greatly harmed the national economy, the plenum ascertained that a great responsibility in this respect devolves upon Comrade Cornel Burtica, former minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. The plenum decided to exclude him from the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and from the Central Committee of the party. The plenum decided to exclude Comrade Victor Zglobiu from the ranks of candidate members of the party Central Committee for certain transgressions and violations of legal provisions while chairman of the Mangalia State Agriculture Enterprise. The plenum also decided to exclude Comrade Ovidiu Maitec from the ranks of candidate members of the party Central Committee and from party membership for certain deeds that are incompatible with the role of party member.

The plenum also made several changes in the composition of the Political Executive Committee, the Secretariat of the party Central Committee and the party Central Collegium. Comrade Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee, was released from the position as secretary of the party Central Committee and entrusted with other tasks. Comrade Miu Dobrescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee, was elected secretary of the party Central Committee.

Comrade Marin Enache was released from the position as secretary of the party Central Committee, entrusted with other tasks and elected candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee. Comrade Ilie Verdet, member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee, was elected secretary of the party Central Committee. In this respect, it was proposed that he should be released from the position as vice president of the State Council. Comrades Petre Danica and Gheorghe Dumitrache were released from the ranks of candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee. Comrade Andrei Cervencovici was released from the position as member of the party Central Collegium and entrusted with other tasks. Comrade Ion Circei was appointed member of the party Central Collegium and vice chairman of the Central Collegium.

The Central Committee convened the RCP National Conference for 16-18 December 1982 with the following agenda:

1. The current stage of building socialism in our country; theoretical, ideological and the political-educational activity of the party; the tasks incumbent upon party bodies and organizations in molding the new man, conscious builder of socialism and communism.

2. The implementation of the uniform national plan for Romania's socioeconomic development in the 1981-85 period and measures required to fully attain the plan provisions for industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and goods circulation, in order to fully carry out the 12th RCP Congress decisions.

3. Special programs on further developing the energy and raw materials base, agriculture and food industry in the 1981-85 period.

At the conclusion of the plenary proceedings Comrade Nicolae Ceasescu, RCP secretary general, made a speech.

Plenum Resolution

LD091040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0922 GMT 9 Oct 82

["Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party of October 7-8, 1982" -- AGERPRES Headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 09/10/1982 -- In the document, the plenary meeting considers that the draft single national plan of Romania's socio-economic development in 1983 fully complies with the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the RCP, with the requirements of raising the whole economic and social activity in Romania onto a qualitatively higher stage. The resolution emphasizes the essential contribution of the RCP general secretary to the drafting of the 1983 plan, which proceeded under his direct guidance.

The plenum considers that every condition is at hand for the fulfillment of the 1983 plan, of all tasks incumbent upon the enterprises, centrals, ministries and countries.

The plenum considers that the draft plan of development of agriculture and food industry for the next year is in full harmony with the tasks resulted from the documents of the 12th party congress and from the plan endorsed by the second congress of management councils of the socialist farm units, of the whole peasantry, and fits in the vast programme of carrying through the new green revolution in Romania.

The plenary meeting, the resolution shows, analyzed and endorsed the programme regarding the carrying through of the measures of self-management and self-supply with a view to ensuring a proper supply of the population with farm foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods in the fourth quarter of 1982 and the first half of 1983, which brings out into bold relief the permanent care of the RCP and of the state for even better meeting the citizens consumption requirements as an essential element of continuously improving the living conditions of the working people, of the whole people.

The plenum considers that the measures and orientations included in the joint programme of aggregate implementation of land melioration works ensure the carrying through of the works in a coherent manner, the correlation with the water husbanding works and with agricultural developments within [word indistinct] graphic basin, the more active participation of the population and of the farm units in these works, the application of agrotechnique on the developed terrains.

The plenary meeting, the resolution shows, endorsed the bill on the participation with social [words indistinct] working people of state economic units in the making up of the economic development fund.

The plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP considers that the regulation of the working people's direct participation in the development of the means of production heightens their responsibility in their capacity as owners, as well as their preoccupation for the smooth run of the economic activity, and ensures the more active participation in the unit's management and self-administration, in raising the profitability and profits, hence of the incomes too.

The plenum decided that the bill be released in the press and submitted to public debate.

The plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee endorsed proposals for the reorganization of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania, started from the need of improving its activity within the broad democratic framework existing in the country, considering the new conditions and requirements of Romania's miltilateral development.

The plenary meeting established the composition, competencies and way of operation of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development considering that by the attributions conferred on it as a higher body of analysis, coordination and guidance, the council acquires the role of legislative chamber of the party and state, of economic parliament which debates the economic and social problems, has law-making initiative, debates and advices the bills referring to the country's economic and social development, endorsed decisions compulsory to all state bodies and socialist units that have tasks related to its domain of activity.

The plenum decided that the endorsed documents be [word indistinct] to the Grand National Assembly for debate.

Ceausescu Speech

AU111511 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Oct 82 pp 1, 2, 3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceasescu at the 8 October closing session of the RCP Central Committee plenum in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the Central Committee plenum has discussed and adopted decisions of special importance on our country's socioeconomic development and on improving the leadership of our socialist society. The decisions and measures established are designed to ensure the consistent implementation of the 12th congress provisions and of the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on Romania's advance toward communism.

In the first 2 years of the 1981-85 5-year plan we concentrated on improving the correlation among the various branches, completing ongoing investment projects and shortening the duration required for investment projects, and on reducing consumption of fuel, energy, raw and other materials. We carried out intensive work to standardize products and implement consumption norms; this type of work must be resolutely continued, in view of the fact that both standardization and establishment of scientific norms of material consumption are far from being completed. Hence, what has been done so far must be viewed as a foundation for further work, for successfully completing this particularly important project for our socioeconomic activities.

In the spirit of the 12th congress decisions, we gave special attention to developing resources of energy and raw materials, and at the same time to recovering and reutilizing materials, and reconditioning spare parts, materials and sub-assemblies.

Particular attention was given to cutting back imports payable in hard currency and speeding up the manufacture of locally produced items. Simultaneously, we adopted various economic-financial measures for more resolutely implementing the new economic-financial mechanism and for consolidating self-management and self-supply.

We have completed the amending of production prices. We increased agricultural prices and selling prices, and allocated corresponding compensations, thus further increasing the real incomes of the working people.

I find it necessary to mention that during the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, the international economic crisis has continued to deepen, and as a result, production has dropped in many countries, especially in the developed ones, and so has the incomes of working people and their living standard. The international economic crisis has affected in particular the situation of the developing countries and deepened the gap between rich and poor nations.

In view of those conditions, our national economic development was planned so as to offset as much as possible the influence of the international economic crisis. This is evident in the fact that in those 2 years our rate of development was somewhat lower than initially envisaged. However, I believe that we were correct in seeking to ensure a stable balance among the various branches of the economy and in stressing the qualitative aspects and economic efficiency of production. In that way we were in a position to secure an active commercial balance in 1981, while in 1982 our commercial balance will show an active surplus of about $1.8 billion.

Nevertheless, we encountered and continue to encounter certain difficulties concerning the balance of foreign payments, considering the debt from previous years that has to be repaid.

Concerning agriculture, in 1981 crops were satisfactory, and it can be said that the 1982 crops are good: approximately 1,000 kg of grain per capita. As many comrades pointed out here, other crops are also good. However, we are still not satisfied, especially with the situation in the livestock sector.

Generally speaking, it can be said that during the first 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan we obtained satisfactory results -- even good ones in certain branches -- and that the conditions are at hand for further developing our national economy and implementing the 12th congress decisions, and thus for raising the people's material and intellectual well-being.

I want to stress the fact that especially in the past 10 years we built up a strong and modern industry. We have strong metallurgical, chemical and machine-building industries. Currently, our heavy industry can solve any problem concerning the production of equipment for the national economy on a par with the world state-of-the-art. It is true that we have had to make great efforts to build such a modern industry. Now, however, we can assert that had we not built such an industry we could not have begun to implement programs such as the ones discussed here today, in the areas of energy, raw materials and general development.

Generally, it can be stated that had we not given due attention to developing a strong and sophisticated industry in the above period, we would have been doomed to a long period of backwardness, which would have been very difficult to overcome in the future, considering the international economic situation. As you well know, we had many difficulties in those years. Many people -- even friends -- counseled us not to invest so much in industrialization, but to remain an agricultural country. Some doubted the capability of our workers class, intellectuals and people to build up a sophisticated industry. By now facts and realities have demonstrated the correctness of our party's policy, and Romania has joined the group of countries with a modern, developed and competitive industry, capable of dealing with the most complex technical problems, in all areas, including those of electronics, nuclear installations, aviation and other key sectors.

We must now make sure that the modern facilities built in all sectors of activity are utilized with maximum efficiency, thus meeting the requirements of the national economy and increasing our participation in international exchanges and cooperation. I am stressing this because the 1983 plan -- which we have unanimously adopted -- is based precisely on those achievements, that is what gives us the guarantee that it can be fulfilled under good conditions.

Dear comrades, the 1983 socioeconomic development plan ensures a 6.6 percent increase in industrial goods production and an 8 percent increase in net production. Similarly, overall agricultural production is due to increase by 5.1-5.6 percent, and net agricultural production by over 6 percent. In order to fulfill the 12th congress decision on energy independence, the plan envisages a more rapid development of domestic energy resources. Thus, in 1983 domestic resources will provide over 90 percent of fuel and energy requirements. As you know, at the 12th congress we decided that by 1990 we should become self-sufficient in the area of energy. On the basis of the current situation we can estimate that as of 1985 we will be able to cover all primary energy consumption from local resources, in other words to become self-sufficient.

However, we must intensify efforts to implement the energy program. Similarly, we must act more resolutely to reduce fuel and energy consumption. I want to call your attention particularly to the need to further reduce industrial consumption, to eliminate losses in the production and conveyance of energy, and to improve industrial technologies.

According to the plan, resources of raw and other materials will also develop more intensively in 1983. In that area, the ministries and people's councils must responsibly and resolutely work to fulfill the programs and subprograms adopted. At the same time, steps must be taken to cut back material consumption and to increase productivity and the index of utilization of raw and other materials.

We must particularly pay greater attention to recovering and reutilizing materials. Our untapped potential in that area is still great. Similarly, we must resolutely begin to recondition and reutilize spare parts and subassemblies. In the coming year we can cover another 5-8 percent of the required raw and other materials with recovered, reconditioned and reutilized materials and parts, thus reducing imports accordingly. In point of fact, on the basis of suggestions made, the plenum decided to continue efforts to further cut back consumptions of fuel and energy, raw and other materials, and to intensify recovery efforts. One of the means of achieving that is to advance the date of investment projects concerning enterprises employed in the utilization of recoverable materials.

It must be understood that material supplies for socioeconomic development must be derived particularly from domestic resources, bolstered by savings and recovered materials. I want to stress that in comparison with other countries -- even socialist countries -- we are still lagging behind in this respect. Therefore, we must make very serious efforts. The state bodies, the Ministry of Supply, all ministries and the Council of Ministers in general must daily supervise the fulfillment of objectives concerning fuel, energy and raw materials, consumption reduction and continuous improvements in consumption norms.

Particular attention must be given to product quality and to the technical level of production. We have made considerable progress in this area. We are building equipment, machinery and products of which Romanian industry can be proud. However, it must be clear to us that, given the current conditions -- and the fierce competition in international markets -- in order to export we must make quality and the technical level of production a permanent, daily concern.

We must also give special attention to more markedly enhancing the productivity of social work. We have a modern industry. Many sectors are mechanized and automated, employ computers, microprocessors and robots, but labor productivity is still not increasing in step with the utilization of modern production methods. In many sectors there are still many people who do not fully justify their presence on the job. The same work and production could be achieved in those sectors with 10-15 percent less personnel, and in some places this percentage is as high as 40-50 percent. This should cause us all the more concern since some sectors suffer from a great shortage of manpower -- as was shown here -- especially in the mining area, and also in construction and other sectors.

Simultaneously with increases in labor productivity we must take resolute measures to judiciously distribute the labor force, so as to ensure the necessary cadres in each sector of activity. In this respect, the ministries must appropriately fulfill their responsibilities as stated in the relevant programs. I am now referring to the Ministry of Labor, but this applies equally to the other ministries.

We must also take more resolute steps to base all economic activities on the principles of the new economic mechanism. We must proceed from the fact that all units must produce and function on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-administration, profitability and efficiency. It must be clearly understood that the basic principles for running socioeconomic enterprises are continuous production growth, efficiency and profitability. No enterprise may be allowed to function if it cannot provide self-management and self-administration, if it is not efficient and profitable, and if it does not ensure satisfactory returns.

We must eradicate the obsolete and anarchical concept that under socialism an enterprise does not need to show profits or returns. All our leadership cadres and all working people must understand that socialism cannot be built, the country cannot be developed and the living standard cannot be raised unless all sectors work profitably and show gains!

All ministries and all economic enterprises must pay special attention to optimally fulfilling the itemized production plan, the plan for goods sold and cash received, and the net production plan. It must be clear to all of us that the fulfillment of the itemized production plan, and the plan on goods sold and cash received is indispensable for ensuring smooth production and the right product quality and technical level.

Esteemed comrades, in the area of agriculture we must begin this year to take all necessary measures to ensure good crops in all sectors, in accordance with the programs we adopted and with the plan provisions. The plenum has discussed various positive and negative aspects of activities in agriculture. This year has demonstrated that our agriculture has a great potential, and that the main thing now is to resolutely complete agricultural operations on schedule and in good conditions, to carry out the deep plowing, to ensure good seeds, to ensure maximum plant density and to provide good maintenance for all crops. I will not now go into details. Still this year we will hold a special meeting on agricultural matters and preparation for spring work, because the necessary measures must be taken still in autumn. This year, too, we could have achieved productions 15-20 percent larger for all crops, without exception, had all operations been done on schedule, including maintenance work, and had plant density been right.

Special measures are required in the areas of livestock and fish raising. We have clear programs in this respect, and they are known by all. All the counties, and of course the Ministry of Agriculture, must take all due measures to implement the programs on livestock breeding and animal production, and to develop the fish raising sector by making maximum use of the 400,000 hectares of waters we have and that can supply at least 200,00 tons of rive and lake fish.

Generally speaking, I want to call the attention of all party and state bodies, agricultural bodies and of the Ministry of Agriculture to the fact that they must take all due measures and supervise the complete fulfillment of the programs we have for each agricultural sector, including the food industry programs.

We have discussed and adopted a program on land melioration and irrigation. We must take measures to secure the technical means, cadres and projects required in each county for implementing those programs in irrigation, drainage and land melioration. I will not now discuss those programs, as they are known. However, as of this year we must take due measures and supply everything that is necessary to fulfill them. As of this fall and winter we must intensively focus on the important area of land melioration.

I also want to call your attention to the need for measures to ensure that agricultural work is adapted to geographical areas. I am referring to the positive experience gained at the Perieni experimental station, which has however remained largely local. It was not even applied throughout the county, although this year despite the paucity of precipitation in Vaslui, the station obtained corn yields in excess of 10 tons per hectare on properly prepared hilly areas. At this plenum I want to reiterate our decision to establish next year a strong center in each county, patterned on the Perieni station. In the coming years we will implement such programs in all the counties, thus being able to work the hilly areas only as was done in that good experiment. That will permit us to utilize several million hectares, halt the process of soil erosion, and considerably increase our agricultural production. In this respect we need not seek any further, and need not read any other specialized iterature. Our experiment was successful. We have good experts and, as I said at Perieni, the station manager should coordinate the project throughout the country. Without leaving his station, he should coordinate this project for the entire country, with the aid of his experts.

Special attention must be given to hayfields, pasture land and forests, with a view to ensuring proper foddering. As I said on other occasions, we have over 5.4 million hectares of hayfields and pasture land. We can allot yearly 2.5-3 million hectares of forest land for pasture after due conditioning, of course. We must resolutely work to implement the programs on cultivating pasture and hayfields, on additionally seeding mountain pastures, and on additionally seeding and maintaining forest land for pasture, and we must capitalize on any other available forest resources for animal fodder.

As of next year we must cultivate at least 1 million hectares of grazing fields. I repeat, I am referring to cultivable grazing fields, which total over 2 million hectares. For that we must take measures and secure the necessary seeds.

Generally speaking, we need to cultivate all grazing and hayfields in the plains, in order to obtain the largest possible crops. Normally, cultivated land can yield 40-50 tons of hay per hectare yearly, not to mention the fact that the animals can go out to pasture in summer. We also need to increase the area sown with corn by several hundred thousand hectares. And since we do not have any other land in reserve, we can only do so by cutting back the arable land allocated to fodder crops. Hence, cultivating pasture land to thus ensure the necessary quantities of fodder must become an obligation, and must be included as of this year in each county's program. It would be superfluous to add that we need more corn to ensure fodder concentrates for the livestock.

We must give due attention to the forestry sector. We recently established a Forestry Ministry. This ministry was put in charge of pastures and hayfields located in the mountains and in forests. We must urgently establish a clear delimiation between the responsibilities of the two ministries, and must take measures to implement the program on mountain and forest pastures and hayfields, and on adapting forests for grazing. In this respect, the Ministry of Forestry must urgently present to the government a program of appropriate measures.

Generally, we must put more order into the forestry sector. We have discussed measures to ensure better forest maintenance and development, and to implement our program on forest planting and on forestry development in general. There are many failings in this respect. The Ministry of Forestry must take the due measures to fulfill the forestry program, to apply strict cutting rules and develop the forests, and to utilize all forest products or such as can be produced in forests -- forest fruit and bushes, mushrooms, beekeeping, silk worms, fishing in mountain streams, hunting, medicinal plants, and so forth. The entire ministry must function on economic principles and must become a resourceful means of protecting and developing our forests, as well as of better utilizing the more than 6 million hectares of woods, plus pastures and hayfields. That will increase the land area controlled by this ministry to over 8.5 million hectares.

We have all the necessary conditions, and I think we must resolutely work to consistently implement the agricultural program in its entire complexity, with a view to carrying out the agrarian revolution.

Esteemed comrades, in order to fulfill the important tasks we have in industry, agriculture and the other sectors of activity, we must act more resolutely to ensure optimal research work, and to more rapildy solve the complex problems raised by our socialist industry concerning raw and other materials, technologies and application of technical progress in production. We have important achievements in this area, too. In the research and design sectors we have a powerful force of nearly 200,000 people. From this viewpoint, too, Romania can be said to now be capable of dealing with the most complex problems of scientific and technical development in all the sectors of activity. However, we must act more resolutely and more efficiently and we must concentrate and pool all our forces in order to solve the various problems concerning our fatherland's development.

We must strengthen the cooperation between research and education, and we must ensure active participation by educational institutes in solving research problems. Similarly, we must strengthen cooperation with production, with cadres and working people employed in production. Practice has demonstrated that whenever researchers cooperated closely with production factors, they were able to rapidly solve problems of a great technical and scientific importance.

At the same time, we must give greater attention to training cadres and continuously raising their professional level. I want to particularly call your attention to the need to take all necessary measures to ensure the cadres required, including cadres of highly-qualified workers, particularly in the areas of mining, oil, energy and so forth. We have intensively developed the use of machinery in mining enterprises, which was a good decision. We have an important program for the coming years, but we have not trained people capable of handling this rather complex machinery. We now must recruit qualified people familiar with the machines, train them on those machines and put them to work. The same applies to the energy sector. We have built large energy enterprises, but we have not provided the cadres capable of maintaining and running those great energy units. For this sector, too, we must recruit qualified workers, technicians and engineers. We must train them and place them as managers of those sectors. Many failings existing in those sectors can be traced back to lack of cadres and of good maintenance and management. Naturally, certain deficiencies are due to machine-building problems. However, many of the failings affecting equipment maintenance and operation are blamed on the quality of the respective equipment while the actual cause of malfunction lies in the lack of skill of the people handling them.

The same principle must be applied to the oil sector, in view of the great objective we have in that area. Naturally, this is valid for all other areas, too. However, I am stressing those three sectors because their responsibilities are very important and because that is where specialized cadres are most noticeably missing.

Efforts must be continued to optimize transportation and to eliminate overlapping and superfluous runs. There is still room for cutting back transportation expenses and fuel and energy consumption by better organizing transport and eliminating superfluous ones. The measures envisaged in our program must be viewed as minimal. As of this year and in the coming year we must endeavor to apply resolute measures in this area.

Particularly, we must put greater order into naval transportation. That sector needs more vessels, and that is something that must be provided by the machine-building industry. Existing vessels must be repaired and maintained, and not sit idle in shipyards for months on end, as is currently the case. And then there is the problem of properly organizing naval transportation -- maritime and river transportation -- so as not to allow vessels to sail empty, to make maximum use of our loading and unloading equipment, thus shortening the storage period and utilizing it more efficiently.

As for investments, as you could note, in 1983 their volume will remain practically the same as in 1982. We will probably have to even review some projects that are not absolutely necessary, and focus on completing those already begun and on commissioning on schedule, or even earlier, the facilities envisaged in the plan. Similarly, we will have to concentrate on investment projects that can contribute to raising technical levels, better capitalizing on raw materials, reducing energy, fuel and raw material consumption.

At most ministries investment volumes will be even lower than this year. At the same time, investments at several ministries will be far higher, such as a 40 percent increase in investments at the Ministry of Mines. This means that we must take resolute measures to complete this huge volume of investments, which will materialize in the opening of new mines and new quarries, and the supply of new machinery and equipment.

We have great objectives in the areas of geology and energy -- where a 20 percent increase in investments is envisaged -- and in the oil sector. Those are in fact the sectors responsible for providing domestic sources of energy and raw materials. Hence, it is particularly important that the construction sector we have at the Council of Ministers take resolute measures, and that the implementation of those big investment programs is not left up only to the ministries.

Once again I want to stress that we must take all necessary measures to complete all investment projects on schedule. We must commission all production capacities on schedule and make sure that they run properly and attain all planned parameters.

We should have no problem carrying out such a large volume of investment projects, since in previous years we did even more. However, there must be more order and discipline, and the Ministry of Industrial Construction must improve its performance.

Esteemed comrades, concerning foreign trade activities I want to mention once again that in order to fulfill the program of socioeconomic development it is objectively necessary to continually develop our foreign trade activities and to expand our economic relations with all the countries in the world, regardless of social system. In 1983 foreign trade activities are planned to increase by about 14 percent: exports by over 18 percent, and imports by 8 percent. These figures incorporate all exports and imports, including oil imports and exports.

We have discussed in detail the matter of hard currency imports. We have decided that the maximum ceiling for implementing the 1985 plan should not exceed $2.2 billion. Accordingly, the plan envisages substantial increases in hard currency exports, with a view to achieving an even balance of payments. In 1983 we plan to reduce our foreign debt by about 20 percent. That will ensure a balance and will permit us to repay ahead of schedule part of our foreign debt over the 1984-85 period, and to completely repay all our foreign debts within a few years.

The above requires resolute efforts at all enterprises, all counties and all ministries, with a view to optimally fulfilling the foreign trade plan, the production for export, and all exports. Naturally, in order to export we must continuously endeavor to raise the quality and technical level of our products, in order to meet the requirements of our customers and to be able to compete in international markets. At the same time, we must do everything possible to obtain better export returns for the raw and other materials utilized and for our people's labor. And this can only be done by manufacturing products of a better quality and of higher technical specifications. Further, we must place greater stress on exchanging Romanian products for imported ones. Past situations, when products were imported without ensuring equivalent exports, must not be allowed to recur. That constituted a violation of plan provisions and of the law that stipulates a strict balance in this respect.

We must develop more intensively production sharing in positive forms acceptable to all states. Cooperation in production, in building projects and in developing production facilities constitute very important forms of cooperation that must be expanded ever more intensively in our international relations and cooperation and in our participation in international exchanges.

In particular, we must improve our cooperation with the socialist countries. Thus, we must endeavor to improve activities within CEMA and cooperation with the CEMA member states. And, I want to mention at this plenum that as far as we are concerned, we cannot be satisfied with the manner in which certain problems are dealt with, especially in the area of energy, raw materials and even specialization in the manufacture of certain products. A discussion is planned on these matters, and in good time we shall inform the Central Committee plenum about that.

We plan to continue to be guided by the need to consistently implement the statute provisions and the principles of the comprehensive program on developing cooperation among the CEMA socialist member states, which should serve to jointly solve basic problems and to promote the progress and socioeconomic development of each national economy and the socialist development of each country, to improve the material and intellectual well-being of each people, to generally strengthen the socialist countries and to raise their economic and political prestige.

It can be stated that the CEMA socialist member states have many resources for meeting their requirements for raw and other materials and energy much better than in the past. They have great resources for dealing with many of the most complex technical and technological problems. Similarly, it can be stated that the CEMA members have good agricultural resources and can meet their agricultural and food requirements much better, more fully.

Romania is determined to contribute to improving CEMA activities, and to developing relations with all CEMA socialist members and with all the socialist countries, with a view to strengthening cooperation, increasing the economic and political strength and the influence of the socialist countries, and consolidating international socialism -- this being an important factor for the policy of detente, peace, independence and international cooperation.

In the spirit of Romania's general policy and proceeding from the fact that Romania is a developing socialist country, we give special attention to developing economic relations, cooperation and production sharing with the developing countries. In point of fact, we have carried out many projects together with those countries, and we are determined to further develop this cooperation in the future.

We also want to further develop our relations with the developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, full equality and mutual advantage.

Generally speaking, we believe that the international economic situation and the complex international economic problems require closer international cooperation and relations, with a view to finding effective solutions for overcoming the economic crisis, for establishing a new world economic order and for providing greater aid to the developing countries. Those are decisive factors for achieving international economic stability and for facilitating the socioeconomic progress of all nations.

In view of the above, international economic relations should reflect the great changes that have occurred and the need to forge relations based on equality and equity, and to achieve a new economic order, which should ensure the progress and development of each nation. Discrimination, obstacles and unfair treatment in international economic relations, practiced by the developed countries, must be resolutely eradicated.

Once again I want to stress that we must pay particular attention to foreign trade activities. We must improve the work of foreign trade bodies, of the ministry and of foreign trade enterprises. We must eliminate all the failings that have been noted and discussed here today.

We must resolutely endeavor to implement our laws on foreign trade activities! All ministries and socioeconomic units must strive to best fulfill their foreign trade tasks and obligations! I repeat: This is an objective requirement for ensuring positive economic activities, for fulfilling the 1983 and the entire 5-year plan, and for the general development of our fatherland!

Esteemed comrades, in 1983 the social product is expected to grow by 4 percent, and the national income by 5 percent. I believe that we must do our best to increase both the social product and the national income t a greater extent. Some 70.6 percent of the national income is planned to be allocated to the consumer fund, and 29.4 percent to the development fund. This requires resolute measures to ensure strict fulfillment of the tasks concerning the further development of the production forces, and to rationally and efficiently utilize the means allocated to the development fund. Similarly, we must judiciously utilize the consumer fund, eliminate waste and superfluous expenditures, and secure the necessary means for increasing the working people's real incomes.

Resolute measures are required to consolidate the national currency and improve its rate of exchange, so that the leu can compare favorably with other currencies in the world. We must ensure the conditions for making the leu a freely convertible currency. This requires great savings in all sectors of activity. Each leu spent must bring maximum returns and profitability. We must take the necessary measures to increase the degree of utilization of raw materials and of the labor of our workers class and people. The Ministry of Finance, the National Bank, financial bodies and banks must improve their work and act more responsibly, and must strengthen financial supervision in all sectors.

The plan envisages increases in the average real retribution of working personnel, which by the end of 1983 will be 4 percent higher than in 1980. The peasantry's real incomes will increase more markedly over this period: by about 10 percent. The volume of consumer goods sales through the socialist trade network will be about 3 percent higher than this year. Some 180,000 apartments will be built, as well as other social-cultural establishments. On this basis and in step with the socioeconomic development, we continuously raise the material and intellectual living standard of the people.

Resolute measures are required to consistently implement the general program of self-management and self-supply, the program for the fourth quarter of 1982 and the one for the first quarter of 1983. All envisaged products must be manufactured, with a view to optimally fulfilling that program's provisions. We have everything that is necessary for that: This year's agricultural output supplies sufficient produce, and the industry has the capability of manufacturing the products decided on and contributing to good supplies. However, we must pay attention to quality, good organization and to properly storing the produce, so that it reaches the people, the working people, in good condition.

During my recent tour of Bucharest I spoke about certain supply problems. I will not now dwell on them. However, I want to call the attention of all state bodies, people's councils, the Ministry of Agriculture and party bodies to the fact that they must take measures to and concern themselves with optimally fulfilling the self-management and self-supply program.

Esteemed comrades, we have every reason to assert that the 1983 plan will ensure our fatherland's further development and the implementation of the 12th congress decisions, as well as the basic objective of Romania's transition to a new stage of development.

We must struggle with all our forces to fulfill the 12th congress objective concerning a new quality of labor and life in all areas. We must take resolute measures to improve leadership and planning in the national economy. In this respect, all the ministries, central bodies and the Council of Ministers must work in accordance with the law and the party decisions to fulfill their greatly important tasks in organizing and leading socio-economic activities. We must provide the necessary measures for a better labor organization, and for strengthening order, discipline and responsibility in all sectors.

We must further improve the work of working people's councils and of the general meetings, and must permanently supervise the development of workers and socialist democracy. Permitting the working people to share in profits -- as we decided today -- constitutes an additional expression of workers' democracy and of the increasing role of the working people in leading their units and the entire society.

The decision on improving the organization and activities of the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania is equally designed to improve leadership and to develop workers and socialist democracy. In the future, the Supreme Council of Development will assume the functions of a legislative economic chamber, or of an economic parliament, that is it will debate and endorse all economic laws, the plan and other measures before they are forwarded to the Grand National Assembly.

Developing socialist, workers' democracy constitutes an objective requirement and a basic necessity for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing toward communism. We must ensure that the masses, all working people regardless of nationality, all our people participate actively, competently and responsibly in mapping our domestic and foreign policies, and in consciously building their own future, their socialist and communist future!

At the same time, we must give greater attention to improving and consolidating workers' control in all areas. This is in fact a specific form of mass participation in the management of the various sectors of activity.

Our great socioeconomic objectives require that we improve the work of party bodies and organizations. We must permanently endeavor to increase the leading role of the party and to strengthen the ties between party organizations and bodies, between communists and the masses of working people, with all the people. We must remember that our party's strength and prestige lie precisely in its close ties to the workers class and other social categories, to all the people, and that all of the party's activities are devoted to the people, to building socialism to the well-being and happiness of our entire nation, and to consolidating our country's independence and sovereignty. (loud applause)

We decided to convene a party national conference in the second half of December. We must thoroughly prepare this important event in the life of our party and people by debating the points of the national conference agenda at party meetings and conferences and by intensively discussing those matters with all working people, with the broad masses, with all our people. The preparations for the national conference must provide a strong impetus for all efforts to unwaveringly fulfill the tasks for this year, to improve work in all areas and to increase the role of party bodies and organizations. The national conference must mark an important moment for the party and for the country and must open up new prospects for our people's struggle and work in order to implement the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

During the same period there will be elections for municipal, town and communal people's councils. We must take advantage of the electoral campaigns and of the elections themselves to improve the work of people's councils, to devise better solutions to urban management problems and to supply problems, and to strengthen the ties between the people's councils and the working people, with a view to facilitating the masses' participation in solving all socioeconomic development issues. Similarly, we must link all those events to the 35th anniversary of the republic.

I was planning to speak about certain international matters, but I will not do so now. I believe that the plenum is quite familiar with our party's position on various issues and on international events, and that its stands are unanimously endorsed by the plenum, the party and all our peoples.

The international policy promoted by our party and state is one of peace and disarmament, actively engaged in the struggle for a new world economic order, for settling conflicts through negotiations, for securing people's vital right to life and existence, for a lasting peace and for international cooperation among all the nations of the world. (loud applause)

Esteemed comrades, the plenum adopted very important decisions. We were also compeled to discuss the measures taken against certain Central Committee members who committed grave irregularities and violated the laws of the state and the party statute. I want to stress that those measures must be viewed by all of us, by the entire party and by the people as an expression of our party's firm resolve to unabatedly watch that the law is observed by all the citizens, regardless of their position in society at a given moment. The more responsible a person's job, the greater his obligation and duty to respect the law and party-state decisions! No one may use his position for personal purposes. No one may commit abuses or break the law, the party-state decisions or the party statute! The strength of our socialist society and socialist democracy are based on legality, and legality means that the laws apply to everyone! (loud and prolonged applause)

Needless to say, comrades, we would have preferred not to have to take such measures. We hope that it will be clearly understood -- and we must make sure that it is clearly understood -- that the law and the party decisions and statute must be observed! Of course, as I said before, those against whom those measures were taken have every opportunity to demonstrate, through their work, that they have learned their lesson. The road to the party is not barred to anyone! In point of fact, two of the comrades who were sanctioned today remain in the party. Everyone has the possibility of working and demonstrating through his future work and activities that he has broken with past mistakes! I want to stress that the sanctions and party measures we take are designed precisely to strengthen our state, party and society, to enhance the spirit of responsibility and combativeness, the revolutionary and communist spirit of the activists and of the entire party. (loud and prolonged applause)

Now, after the adoption of the plan and of the other decisions, we must throw all our forces into practical work. Upon returning home or to our jobs, we must take all necessary measures to optimally implement the 1982 plan. We must carry out the planned production and exports, must harvest crops on schedule and do the sowing, and we must fulfill the supply program. We must thoroughly prepare for the 1983 plan, which is to be discussed this month at general meetings in all enterprises, so that as of the very first day of 1983 we can begin to implement it in the best conditions.

I am convinced that all Central Committee members, the party aktiv, bodies and organizations, and all our people will work in close unity to implement the 12th congress decisions and the decisions of the party Central Committee plenum.

Let us come to the party national conference with successes in all areas, with an even stronger and better working party!

I am fully convinced that all the working people and all our people will work as in the past to unswervingly implement the program aimed at continuously developing our fatherland, at bolstering its economic strength, at raising the people's material and intellectual standard, and at consolidating the independence and sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Romania. (loud and prolonged applause)

With this convinction, I want to wish all the communists, all the working people and all of you successes in all your activities! Carry on the good work! (loud and prolonged applause)

'INCONSISTENCY' OF REAGAN FOREIGN POLICY ASSESSED

AU101424 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] The end of the second year of Reagan's residence in the White House is near. During this period, his opponents and apparently also a large number of his followers have perceived two essential, although completely different characteristics of his policies. The are simply divided into characteristics of his domestic and primarily economic policy and characteristics of his foreign policy which is subject of discussions and criticisms outside as well as within the United States. Slobodan Kovacevic speaks:

Certain successes of the Reagan administration in healing the ailments of the American economic giant are beyond all doubt. What is primarily involved in this connection is the restored strength of the dollar which is now experiencing its best days on world exchanges, and the long disputed policy of high interest rates which has nevertheless produced results: the specter of inflation has been tamed and the famous petrodollars have been attracted to the American cash registers. It is true that an enormous penalty has been paid by a further increase in unemployment, and an end of recession is still not in sight.

The critics view Reagan's foreign policy completely differently. The basic criticism can be condensed in one single word: inconsistency. Although a debatable and, in any event, risky sharp course has been adopted in relation to the Soviet Union, it is the American allies who have paid the heaviest price for this up till now. The latest example of this are the disagreements about the prohibitions connected with the Siberian gas pipeline and the sales of American grain to the Soviet Union. Serious disagreements within the Atlantic pact have resulted.

The thesis about a weak Soviet Union and of refusing to let the opponent make his move seems to be failing in the Middle East. Careful analysts warn that what is really involved in this connection are the patient tactics of the other side that are reflected in waiting for the Americans to make a mistake. The latest events appear as though they have confirmed this.

As regards relations with China, little has been left of Haig's former plans for deepening them. The fact is that everything has been spoiled by the negotiations with Taiwan on the sale of 150 F-5 fighter planes. And the result: In these days we have witnessed that the vacuum created in this manner has been filled by the Soviet initiative for and China's acceptance of a dialogue on normalizing relations.

And finally, U.S. relations with Latin America: They have never been worse since the Falklands events. The iron fist policy has failed to produce any results in the Caribbean basin. As a matter of fact, a careful inventory of political mistakes in relations to that region would show that the results are smaller than those in the period up to the implementation of that policy.

We are returning to the beginning here. During the past period of nearly 2 years, Reagan mainly adhered to the firmness of his election promises. Whereas this firmnes has undoubtedly strengthened the shaken dollar, it has mainly introduced confusion into foreign affairs and perplexity among America's allies. The current level of cooling of world relations can also be attributed to this to a great extent. After all, it is precisely an American proverb that says: When one marches firmly for a long time, then the firmness takes on a momentum all its own.

NOVAK COMMENTS ON POLISH TRADE UNION LAW

LD092220 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Commentary by Zrnka Novak]

[Text] The decision of the Polish Sejm yesterday to adopt the law on new trade unions represents undoubtedly the greatest turning point following the proclamation of martial law.

In thus opening a new stage in resolving the social crisis, the Polish authorities refer to the principles of the workers' agreements of Gdansk and Szczecin, believing that the new law confirms the continuity of the real demands of the working class. Here is a commentary on this by Zrnka Novak.

The new law, which creates in Polish society the possibility of forming new trade unions, but which at the same time proclaims the existing ones nonexistent -- that is, the older [word indistinct] trade union organizations suspended since the introduction of the martial law, which had about 4 million members, and the newer organizations of Solidarity, which, according to Western sources, had a membership of about 9 million Polish workers -- this decision by the Sejm belongs entirely to the anthology of those historical decisions which remind one a little of political magic. Should the Poles accept, without upheavals, the legislative platform for setting up a new trade union movement, the space for the real partnership of the working class in overcoming the social crisis and gradually implementing the planned economic reforms would be ensured.

Though this is a question of the text of the law, the first drafts of which had been the subject of debates and negotiations as far back as 1981, its adoption yesterday -- regardless of the eventual outcome -- represents the boldest gesture yet by the Polish authorities following the introduction of martial law. As time has passed and as martial law has been slowly approaching its first anniversary, it has become clear that only bold decisions could resolve the Polish social lethargy. But the renewal of the dialogue has also always presupposed the question of partnership, that is, who should represent the working class in the triangle of the agreement with the authorities and the church. Should it be the suspended trade unions, among which the illegal leadership of Solidarity had adopted the attitude of the political opposition force, or the social councils and commissions, which do not seem to have fulfilled their function.

With the adoption of the new law this problem has been resolved, at least formally and on paper. Thus, however fragmented throughout the enterprises and collectives in the first phase of the application of the law, the partner for the future agreement negotiation process has been named -- the exponent of the workers' demands and of the development of the future alternative which socialist Poland has found in self-management. Thus the formal possibility also has been unfolded for the realization of the 1980 Gdansk agreements with the strikers -- that is, those very same demands of the Polish working class, which, in the view of the authorities, the extremists of the Solidarity trade union have betrayed by creating out of them the platform for the political opposition movement.

It is difficult to foresee today what the reaction and the response of the Polish working class, and in particular what the response of the Catholic Church, as the third partner of the future agreement, will be. For a whole year the church has played a tactical game between the suspended Solidarity, the authorities and its own historical interests on this part of the European soil. This has been like the game of warmer and cooler. At times it has been entirely on the side of the former trade union, and at other times closer to the authorities. The postponed trip by Primate Glemp shows that it is very significant for the Polish church to be unavoidably present at this turning point in martial law.

Some Western commentators recall today that the model of the decision on new trade unions was agreed on in the Crimea this summer, though this is a question of a legislative project compiled last year. Regardless of these niceties, the fact is that the adoption of this law represents for the time being the first concrete step toward the abolition of the martial law. The geo-political position of the People's Republic of Poland is a lasting reality, and only hotheads could dream of a change in this reality. Therefore, any step in the direction of normalizing the situation in this socialist country is a concrete contribution to the positive continuation of the dialogue at the CSCE rostrum in Madrid next month.

SUNDIC VIEWS SUPERPOWERS' RELATIONS, SOUTHEAST ASIA

LD082232 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Commentary by Milika Sundic: "Novelties in the Relations Between the Soviet Union and Washington, Hanoi and Beijing, and Their Possible Meaning at the Present Moment"]

[Text] Due to heavy pressure, these days Moscow had or will have three very important and interesting dialogues which, even if they were only partly successful, could influence a change in the relations between the Soviet Union and China, the United States and Vietnam. They concern two meetings between Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz in New York, the meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Vietnamese Premier Truong Chinh in the Kremlin and the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese dialogue in Beijing at the level of deputy foreign ministers.

The TASS report on the talks between Gromyko and Shultz is so formulated that even without supplemntary explanations it represents a special commentary on the present state of relations between the two leading world powers. Above all it states that the dialogue between the two ministers was constructive and exhaustive and that the ministers agreed that it was important for both sides to continue the exchange of views. The TASS version of the talks in New York is certainly in agreement with the official U.S. assessments of the Gromyko-Shultz meeting. This agreement is certainly important at the present time, especially if we consider the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the problems of disarmament. On the other hand, it makes us believe that both superpowers equally abhore further deterioration in their mutual relations.

The dialogue between Brezhnev and Truong Chinh is especially interesting because for the first time in many years it revealed the difference in interests of the two countries and, we could say, lack of identity in their aims. The Vietnamese premier, perhaps, came to Moscow to find out what is new in Soviet-Chinese relations. Although there is something new, there is also something that Vietnam does not like at all. Without bringing Soviet-Vietnamese relations in any way into question, Brezhnev also openly spoke about the importance which the Soviet Government attached to the relations with China. As in his recent speech in Baku, Brezhnev refrained from criticizing the Chinese policy and without beating about the bush told his guest that an improvement in Soviet-Chinese and Vietnamese-Chinese relations represented an important contribution to world peace. Thre is nothing to be added or taken away from this assessment by the head of the Soviet state and party. But it is a different matter whether this view is also held in Hanoi, because the Vietnamese premier spoke quite differently about China, as sharply as ever. But perhaps he also comprehended that Moscow did not wish -- nor did it suit it -- to abandon its interests for the benefit of the Vietnamese interests.

Let us recall that Moscow continues to support the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea and is itself in a similar situation in Afghanistan. However, it might have reached the conclusion that such behavior could not be reconciled with the wish to normalize and promote relations with China. If this assessment is at all correct, and it does not contradict what Brezhnev said about the relations with China in the presence of his Vietnamese guest, then it would be logical to expect that the government in Hanoi will comprehend that it is unavoidable to follow Moscow and not the other way around, because it is obvious that in the present international conditions marked by various rearrangements, it does not suit Moscow to miss the chance to normalize its relations with China, thanks to the fact that China also wants it. If the Soviet Union managed to pacify relations with the United States and to improve relations with China, then this would be a great success, which Vietnam also should not abhor. After all, it is not said in vain that every lesson has to be paid.

MOJSOV MEETS PEREZ DE CUELLAR, FOREIGN ENVOYS

LD090136 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1821 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, October 8 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov met with U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar on Friday.

Mojsov and Perez de Cuellar discussed the most important issues on the agenda of the current U.N. General Assembly session, with special emphasis on the place and role the United Nations can and should play in the current complex and serious international situation.

The course of the general debate so far showed that there is a disposition to cease avoiding the United Nations in the solving of problems and make better use of the mechanisms provided by the U.N. Charter.

Mojsov and Perez de Cuellar also talked on preparations for the sixth UNCTAD due to be held next year in Belgrade. They expressed the belief that the session would be a significant contribution and stimulus to U.N. activities in the solving of international economic problemts, especially the problems of developing countries.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary also had an appointment with the president of the 37th session, Imre Hollai, with whom he discussed the most important tasks in the activity of the General Assembly, as well as the most topical issues on the agenda.

Lazar Mojsov also had separate meetings with ministers of external affairs of Libya -- 'Abd al-'Ati al-Ubaydi, Mozambique -- Chissano and Guyana -- Jackson, which pertained to the international situation and bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and those countries.

MAMULA BEGINS OFFICIAL VISIT TO LIBYA 11 OCT

LD111050 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0851 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Oct (TANJUG) -- Adml Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, left for a working visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah today. During his stay in that friendly country Admiral Mamula will have talks with his hosts on the further promotion of relations and cooperation between the armed forces of Yugoslavia and Libya.

At Batajnica airport Admiral Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, and the delegation were seen off by Col Gen Petar Gracanin, chief of staff of the Yugoslav People's Army; Col Gen Radovan Vojvodic, assistant federal secretary for national defense; Lt Col Gen Slobodan Alagic, commander of the air force and air defense; Lt Col Gen Petar Ristic; Rear Adml Zvonimir Kostic; and other Yugoslav People's Army leaders.

SREBIC RECEIVES USSR TRANSPORTATION OFFICIAL

LD091450 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1406 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Belgrade, October 8 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav vice-premier and co-chairman of the Yugoslav-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Borislav Srebic Friday received deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee and head of the Soviet delegation to the 6th session of the Yugoslav-Soviet Working Group for Cooperation in Transport. In the ensuing friendly talk, they discussed questions from the field of transport with a view to taking operative measures in order to remove existing difficulties in freight transport between the two countries.

ARMY DELEGATION BEGINS OFFICIAL VISIT TO USSR

LD112048 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] Moscow 11 Oct (TANJUG) -- Lt Col Gen Milan Daljevic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, arrived today on an official visit to the Armed Forces of the USSR. At Sheremetyevo-2 Airport in Moscow the Yugoslav People's Army guests were welcomed by the host, Army Gen Aleksey Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy and one of the first Soviet deputy ministers of defense. [title as received] The latter paid a visit to Yugoslavia last spring.

Milojko Drulovic, SFRY ambassador in Moscow, and Col Ivan Glagajic, military attache, also attended the welcoming ceremony for the Yugoslav People's Army delegation, in addition to other Soviet military figures.

Lt Col Gen M. Daljevic this evening also visited Marshal Sergey Sokolov, first Soviet deputy minister of defense and commander of the armored forces of the USSR [title as received].

ANTI-SFRY ALBANIAN, BULGARIAN PROPAGANDA DECRIED

AU112029 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Summary] A meeting was held in Pristina today of the Provincial and Social Council for Relations with Foreign Countries, which discussed current problems of foreign propaganda against Yugoslavia and cooperation of Kosovo with neighboring countries. It was stated at the meeting that a positive presentation of Yugoslavia dominates most of the foreign propaganda but there are some propaganda circles of the blocs which attempt, through "propaganda activity and other anti-Yugoslav activity, to compromise our foreign and internal policies" with disinformation. They do this because they are hindered by Yugoslavia's nonaligned independent socialist self-managing policy.

"This anti-Yugoslav ideological and subversive propaganda is especially (?emphasized) by the press of bloc structures and propaganda (?activity) from Albania and Bulgaria." A special task is "the unmasking of anti-Yugoslav propaganda from Albania, which is intensively interfering in our country's internal affairs, supporting and inciting nationalist and irredentist elements in Kosovo and Yugoslavia." Special emphasis was also given to Kosovo's cooperation with neighboring countries as a part of overall Yugoslav cooperation with foreign countries.

BILIC PLEDGES REPAYMENT OF FOREIGN DEBT

LD081712 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 8 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia, at the price [words indistinct] will pay all (?her) foreign debts. The above was stated in an interview, published in the Belgrade weekly "NIN" issued today (Friday), given by Jure Bilic, president of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee. Bilic also emphasized that Yugoslavia, as the state, will not seek an exit in reprogramming its foreign debt, because this always involved the danger of external pressures. "Because of our independnet policy and position in the world, we must pursue such economic and foreign policies as could let nobody blackmail us, dictate conditions to us."

However, Jure Bilic, who also is member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, held that still earlier a stand should have been taken for the banks and tne economy to be allowed to perform reprogramming "because this is normal in the world".

Bilic noted that in the past seven or eight years Yugoslavia has developed quicker than its realistic possibilities. Hence, now it is necessary to accept certain renunciation. Some of the projects have to be given up, and complete moratorium must be kept for some time on investments in the infrastructure. People have to be told clearly, "certain articles which are dependent on foreign currency will not be available in a sufficient measure. Accordingly, we have to accept sacrifices".

In explaining economic difficulties facing the country, Bilic pointed out that in the past there has been many unsuccessful investments, and insufficient account has been taken in making debts abroad. In Yugoslavia, the federal statism has been broken, but it came out that the "republican statism has overruled self-management." In this reference, he pointed out that the law requiring all investments be registered with the federation has been annulled, which, as a result, made the "republics and provinces develop each for itself".

The way out, Bilic said [words indistinct] the breaking up of the republican statism and in the development of self-management.

INSTITUTE REPORTS INFLATION FIGURES FOR SEPTEMBER

LD091324 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Oct (TANJUG) -- Retail prices increased by 2.4 percent in September as compared with August, the Federal Statistics Institute reports. The switch to the winter electricity tariff and the increase in prices of sugar, cooking oil and margarine have contribute to a 1.5 percent increase in retail prices. What is surprising, is that some other price increases too have been noted despite the Federal Executive Council's decision to freeze prices of all products and services.

The prices of agricultural food products in September increased by 1.2 percent; this was the result mostly of the increase in the price of eggs by 6.2 percent, fresh fruit by 4.9 percent, honey by 4.5 percent, fresh fish by 3.5 percent, dried fruit by 2.6 percent, milk and domestic curd cheeses by 2.5 percent, rice by 2.4 percent and wheat flour by 1.8 percent.

Total retail prices in the 9 months of 1982 increased by 23.8 percent. This September was 31.8 percent "more expensive" than September 1981.

ARMY, 120,000 CITIZENS PARTICIPATE IN DRILL

LD101942 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Oct (TANJUG) -- The "Resolve 82" exercise, a joint tactical exercise of the armed forces and territorial defense of people and citizens, an exercise closely linked with the already traditional "nothing must surprise us" action, ended on Zagreb territory today. The final exercise of the "nothing must surprise us" action on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia will be held at the end of next week.

Thanks to the demonstrated consciousness and devotion of members of the armed forces and to the readiness of the 120,000 inhabitants in the area of the exercise, the exercise has been assessed as very successful, despite the bad weather.

Four municipalities and 18 local communities, together with the united inhabitants of the territorial defense of the city of Zagreb took part in the exercise.